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15th of July, 1979

Tuck Kwan Koo

WISDOM AND TORAH

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WISDOM PSALMS

TUCK KWAN KOO

PhD
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
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PREFACE

I would like to express my hearty gratitude to my supervisor, Professor George W. Anderson, for directing this study. His continuous comments on the up-to-date areas of interest, research done by scholars, and the various hypotheses advanced, with valuable suggestions and criticism of this study have been invaluable in the preparation of this thesis. A fuller account of my debt to him would include two years of seminars and classroom instruction on the wisdom psalms and wisdom theology.

I am deeply indebted to many writers and the scale of indebtedness will be evident to those familiar with the subject-matter. However, none of these scholars are responsible for the deficiencies of this study, for which I alone am answerable. The translation used throughout this study is the Revised Standard Version, though I have occasionally departed from it in the interest of a more literal rendering.

Finally I wish to thank my wife for her various tasks in connection with this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The early Hebrew wisdom was expounded by the parents, teachers, and priests in the family and temples. Its content was utilitarian and concerned with the worldly life, yet its distinctive nature was the fear of Yahweh which is found in JE stories, Proverbs, the Deuteronomic writings.

As to the pre-exilic Torah, in Proverbs it means the instruction given by parents/teachers, and in the Tetrateuch and the early prophets the instruction given by the priests and the prophets. As the Book of Proverbs contains an instructional form of Torah drawn from individual experience, the Deuteronomic history is another form of it based on a collective experience. In the exilic and post-exilic period the priestly Torah-giving was gradually replaced by the scribal Torah-studying/teaching. In Ben Sira the Torah became the book of life that contains all the wisdom from the past.

In the wisdom psalms the Torah is identified with wisdom: the "Torah" as God's wisdom and human "wisdom" as man's fear of Yahweh. Ps 1 testifies to the Torah as the source of life, health, growth, and fruit. Ps 19 confesses it as trustworthy or sufficient to bring salvation and joy. Ps 119 praises it as promise, salvation, mercy, as well as the way or the truth for life. The Torah was never a static rigid code of law, but the living address of God that emanates light and holiness. The essential force of the Torah is to make man hope in God. The Torah is the gift of God, the living force to guide the people.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible, New York
<u>AfO</u>	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung</u> , Graz
<u>ANET</u>	<u>The Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</u> , 2nd ed. J.B. Pritchard ed. 1955
<u>ASTI</u>	<u>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</u> , Leiden
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch , Göttingen
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u> , New Haven: Baltimore
BDB	A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, F.Brown-S.R.Driver-C.A.Briggs, Oxford
BK	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament, Neukirchen
<u>B(Bib)ThB</u>	<u>Biblical Theology Bulletin</u>
<u>BZ</u>	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u> , (New Series from 1957), Paderborn
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Giessen, Berlin
CB	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, Cambridge
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u> , Washington D.C.
<u>CalThJ</u>	<u>Calvin Theological Journal</u> ,
<u>CThM</u>	<u>Concordia Theological Monthly</u> , St. Louis, Kenn.
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, P.R.Ackroyd ed., London
<u>ExpT</u>	<u>The Expository Times</u> , Edinburgh
<u>EvQ</u>	<u>The Evangelical Quarterly</u>
<u>EvTh</u>	<u>Evangelische Theologie</u> , München
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen
FS	Festschrift
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Göttingen
<u>HT(Th)R</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u> , Cambridge, Mass.
<u>HUCA</u>	<u>Hebrew Union College Annual</u> , Cincinnati, Ohio

<u>IB</u>	<u>The Interpreter's Bible</u> , Nashville, Tenn.
ICC	The International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh
<u>IDB</u>	<u>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u> , Nashville, Tenn.
<u>IEJ</u>	<u>Israel Exploration Journal</u> , Jerusalem
<u>JBC</u>	Jerome Bible Commentary,
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u> , Philadelphia
<u>JBR</u>	<u>The Journal of Bible and Religion</u> , Boston, Mass.
<u>JETS</u>	<u>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</u> ,
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u> , Chicago
<u>JStJud</u>	<u>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</u>
<u>JThCh</u>	<u>Journal for Theology and the Church</u>
<u>JThSt</u>	<u>The Journal of Theological Studies</u> , Oxford
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament, Leipzig-Gütersloh
<u>KD</u>	<u>Kerygma und Dogma</u>
LXX	Septuagint
<u>MDOG</u>	<u>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft</u> , Leipzig.
NF	Neue Folge
OTL	Old Testament Library, London
<u>OLZ</u>	<u>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</u> , Berlin.
<u>RB</u>	<u>Revue Biblique</u> , Paris.
<u>RExp</u>	<u>Review and Expositor</u> ,
<u>RGG</u>	<u>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u> , Tübingen.
<u>RelStR</u>	<u>Religious Studies Review</u>
<u>RTP</u>	<u>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</u> , Lausanne.
<u>SANT</u>	<u>Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</u> , Munich
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<u>SJT(Th)</u>	<u>The Scottish Journal of Theology</u> , Edinburgh.
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.

<u>ThZ</u>	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u> , Basel.
<u>TLZ</u>	<u>Theologische Literaturzeitung</u> , Leipzig, Berlin.
<u>TW</u>	Theologische Wissenschaft, Stuttgart.
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u> , Leiden.
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Neukirchen.
<u>ZAW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u> , Giessen, Berlin.
<u>ZDPV</u>	<u>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</u> , Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden.
<u>ZT(Th)K</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u> , Tübingen.

C O N T E N T S

Introduction	1
CHAPTER ONE	
THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW WISDOM TRADITION	
A. <u>The Early Hebrew Wisdom</u>	
1. <u>The Background</u>	3
1) General Remarks	4
2) Egyptian Literature	4
3) Mesopotamian Literature	8
2. <u>The Early Hebrew Wisdom</u>	13
1) The Use and Meaning of the Term "Wisdom"	13
2) The Situation of the Early Wisdom	18
i) The Royal Court	18
ii) The Scribes in the Court	19
iii) The Temple Singers	23
3) The Content of Early Wisdom	23
i) General Nature of the Content	23
ii) The "Secular" Aspect of Early Wisdom	25
iii) The Doctrine of Retribution	26
iv) The Religious Aspect	28
3. <u>The Israelization of the Early Wisdom</u>	
1) The Problem of Prov 1-9	36
2) The Distinctiveness of Israelite Wisdom	43
i) Wisdom in Creation?	45
ii) Personification and Pre-Existence of Wisdom?	47
iii) The Fear of Yahweh	50

B. Wisdom and the Deuteronomic School

1. <u>The Nature of the Deuteronomic School</u>	52
1) Prophetic Origin	52
2) Levitical Origin	54
2. <u>Deuteronomy as the Work of Sapiential Scribes</u>	56
1) Scribal Connection with Deuteronomy	56
2) The Sapiential Concern of Deuteronomy	62
3) The Stylistic and Thematic Parallels	66
4) The Parallel Concern with Pedagogy	69
5) The Parallel Humanitarian Concern	71
6) The Parallel Idea of Retribution	75
7) Hezekiah, the Champion of Wisdom	77

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF HEBREW TORAH TRADITION

A. <u>Etymology of Torah</u>	81
B. <u>The Pre-Deuteronomic Torah</u>	84
1. The Parental and Sapiential Torah	84
2. Torah in the Pre-Deuteronomic Prophets	91
3. Torah as Priestly Instruction	97
C. <u>The Deuteronomic Torah</u>	104
1. The Torah-Passages in Deuteronomy	104
2. Torah as the Law Code	113
1) The Earlier Method of Presenting Laws	113
2) The Deuteronomic Use of Law	116
3) The Various Terms for Legal Code in Deuteronomy	123

3. ^a Torah as Historical Instruction	126
1) The Deuteromic Knowledge of the JE History	126
2) A Sermon Drawn from History	131
D. <u>The Exilic and Post-Exilic Torah</u>	
1. Torah in the Exilic Literature	137
1) Jeremiah	137
2) Lamentations	138
3) Ezekiel	139
4) The Deuteronomic Writings	140
5) The Second Isaish	142
2. Torah in the Post-Exilic Period	143
1) Haggai	143
2) Zechariah	144
3) Malachi	144
4) Job	145
5) The Chronicler's Writings	145
E. <u>Torah in the Hellenistic Period</u>	155
1. Torah in Apocalyptic	155
2. Torah in Ben Sira	158

CHAPTER THREE

TORAH IN THE WISDOM PSALMS

1. The Problem of Classification	164
2. The Life Situation	169
3. The Wisdom Psalms (Non-Torah)	173
1) Psalm 32	173
2) Psalm 34	174
3) Psalm 37	175

4) Psalm 49	177
5) Psalm 73	178
6) Psalm 127	178
4. Torah in the Wisdom Psalms	179
1) Psalm 73	179
2) Psalm 1	180
3) Psalm 19	184
4) Psalm 119	190
Conclusion	197
Bibliography	201

Introduction

In recent decades there has been a tendency to give wisdom an ever-increasing role in the formation of the OT, especially in its relationship to Proverbs, to the early pre-exilic prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah), and to the Deuteronomic School.⁽¹⁾

The position argued in this study is that the wisdom usage of the term "Torah", a wise instruction, appears right from the beginning of the Israelite wisdom tradition, and has remained as one of the major expressions of the Israelite wisdom movement. This is a difficult position to argue because of the wide-spread persuasion 1) that the Torah as a wisdom term is late, 2) and that the bulk of the OT historical material has nothing to do with the wisdom movement.

Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the history of Israelite wisdom tradition as well as that of Israelite Torah tradition, along with an investigation of some of the earlier assertions concerning the meaning and the usage of the terms "wisdom" and "Torah". We are convinced that this matter deserves full treatment because of the implications that flow from the term Torah. We will examine the

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1. J. Lindblom, "Wisdom in the OT Prophets", in: Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, (SVT 3), 1955, pp.192-204; G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, II, tr. D.M.G. Stalker, 1960 G, 1965 E, in which he has argued that wisdom is the real matrix from which the apocalyptic literature originated; S. Terrien, "Amos and Wisdom", in: Israel's Prophetic Heritage, B.W. Anderson - W. Harrelson ed.(New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp.108-115; M. Weinfeld, "The Origin of the Humanism in Deuteronomy", JBL 80 (1961), pp.241-247; J.R. Boston, "The Wisdom Influence upon the Song of Moses", JBL 87 (1968), pp.198-202; J.W. Whedbee, Isaiah and Wisdom, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971); J.W. McKay, "Man's Love for God in Deuteronomy and the Father/Teacher - Son/Pupil Relationship", VT 22 (1972), pp.426-435; Leo G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult: a Critical Analysis of the Views of Cult in the Wisdom Literatures of Israel and the Ancient Near East, (SBL Dissertation Series 30), Montana: Scholars Press, 1977; R. E. Murphy, "Interpretation of Old Testament Wisdom Literature", Interpretation 23 (1969), pp.286-305; idem, "What and Where is Wisdom", Currents in Theology and Mission 4 (1977), pp.283-287.

nature of early Hebrew wisdom to see the role and nature of wisdom in Biblical revelation. Then, we will move on to see that relationship between the wisdom movement and the activities of the Deuteronomic School after the fall of the Northern Kingdom to see whether history writing has anything to do with wisdom. Following it we will examine the main themes of the Hebrew sceptical wisdom to see their development and their relation to the merging prominent status of the Torah through the examination of the wisdom psalms. This requires both situating the books in their relationship to contemporary wisdom circles and investigating the individual texts in which they use or deal with the same terms. A discernible relationship of wisdom circles to those books has been recognized and accepted, but there has not been complete agreement concerning the nature of that relationship. It will be our attempt to define the line of their contact and their relationship more closely, and to point to some indications of their vital contact in the wisdom psalms.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW WISDOM TRADITION

A

THE EARLY HEBREW WISDOM

1. The Background

1) General Remarks: There has been much study in recent years by several scholars, in order to establish more precisely the meaning of such terms as "wisdom" or "wisdom tradition" or "wisdom influence" in OT study.⁽²⁾ Because of the revolutionary progress in archaeology since the turn of the century in the fertile crescent, and especially as the result of the discovery of ancient Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hurrian, and Hittite law codes, our understanding of Biblical law has been immeasurably advanced.⁽³⁾ But, it is the area of OT wisdom in particular which has benefited by this vastly broadened background. It has been proved that wisdom literature is one of the oldest literary forms known, going back to the third millennium BC in Egypt and to the second millennium BC in Mesopotamia.⁽⁴⁾ From Babylonian, Syrian, and above all from Egypt significant literary docu-

2. H.H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, (BZAW 101), Berlin, 1966; J.L. McKenzie, "Reflections on Wisdom", JBL 86 (1967), pp.1-9; R.E. Murphy, "Assumptions and Problems in OT Wisdom Research", CBQ 29 (1967), pp.101-112; J.L. Crenshaw, "Method in Determining Wisdom Influence upon Historical Literature", JBL 88 (1969), pp.129-137.
3. G.R. Driver - J.C. Miles, The Assyrian Laws, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935; M.P. Smith, Origin and History of Hebrew Law, Chicago, 1931.
4. The fragmentary Akkadian composition, "The Instruction of Shuruppak" has the title of instruction of a father to his son. The original text of this Akkadian composition goes back to a still more ancient Sumerian text, which is one of the oldest known pieces of Mesopotamian literature and is attested before 2500 BC; cf. Leo G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, (SBL diss. Ser. 30), pp.95-117, especially pp.95ff and 99; also E.I. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1959) pp.3, 23, 24.

ments have come to light which clarify untold aspects of Hebrew wisdom. Hebrew wisdom was part of the cultural pattern of the Fertile Crescent, which prevailed in Egypt, Babylon, Syria, and Palestine during the second and third millennia BC, and the conventional wisdoms are quite secular and remarkably similar to each other. As today's scholars believe the wisdom was an international phenomenon.

2) Egyptian Literature: Greatest in extent and importance are the remains of Egyptian wisdom, which emanate from both the Old Kingdom (ca. 3,000-2,500 BC) and the New, from the reign of Thutmose I (ca. 1555 BC) to that of Sheshonk of Libya (ca. 945 BC).

The Instruction of Ptah-hotep, who was a vizier of king Issi (Ixezi) (ca. 2675) of the fifth dynasty, is dated to ca. 2450 BC. It was still in use as a school book as late as the 18th dynasty.⁽⁵⁾ It was an educational manual for one who was to hold high public office. There is no one born wise, and so wisdom has to be learned. Wisdom is conservable, stored up from the past. There is no moralism in it. It contrasts judicious and injudicious, reasonable and unreasonable, temperate and intemperate, rather than righteous and wicked, good and bad. It teaches such virtues as the proper attitudes towards one's superiors and inferiors, towards one's son, towards guests, and towards woman, and it emphasises the need for caution in speech and in contracting friendship. Etiquette is important,⁽⁶⁾ and its object is to put one's superior in good humour and to create a favourable impression. Principally, it is concerned with intellectual discipline and integrity, and engages to keep a balance of advantage as between silence and speech.⁽⁷⁾ It reflects the ethos of

5. A. Erman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians, tr. A.M. Blackman, (London: Methuen & Co., 1927), pp. 54f; ANET, p. 421.

6. ANET, p. 412.

7. Ibid., p. 414.

a mature civilization, in which Ma'at is a theological doctrine with cosmological and ethical-political ramifications. It guarantees continuance of the state and has just order. The emphasis is on wise rather than righteous behaviour. Power is regulated by the concept of Ma'at. The conviction is that it is always wise to conserve as much good-will as possible.

The instruction for king Kagemni is probably the oldest perhaps of the third or fourth dynasty.⁽⁸⁾ The text is fragmentary and the entire piece extremely brief. From the historical introduction, an anonymous vizier apparently has become old in his service to Pharaoh Huni (ca. 2600 BC), and, therefore, begins to set forth rules of life for his children, one of whom was Kagemni, who is designated to be his successor as vizier under the next Pharaoh, Snefru.⁽⁹⁾

The instruction for king Merikare, who reigned from ca. 2180 BC in the intermediate period (ca. 2160-2040 BC),⁽¹⁰⁾ and whose father was one of the kings of Herakleopolis, is formulated in the light of particular historical experiences. It is in the proverbial form and inculcates not only the practical qualities a ruler must possess but also various religious conceptions, with clash between the moral injunctions and the hard-headed realism of the counsel given to the king to suppress possible rivals to the throne. Man has been made in the image of the god, who has breathed the breath of life into his nostrils. Wisdom is said to come from ancestors as well as the

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8. Following the chronology in the text by Wm. Hallo - Wm. Simpson, The Ancient Near East, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, INC.), 1971.
 9. A.H. Gardiner, "The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and his Brethren", JEA 32 (1946), pp.71-74; W. Federn, "Notes on the Instruction to Kagemni and his Brethren", JEA 36 (1950), pp.48-50; A.H. Gardiner, "Kagemni Once Again", JEA 37 (1951), pp.109
 10. ANET, pp.414-418; W. McKane, Proverbs, (OTL), London: SCM Press, 1970, pp.67f.

fruit of experience.⁽¹¹⁾ The king should exercise a wise restraint in the matter of punishment and should resist the temptation to justify repressive measures.⁽¹²⁾ Pharaoh is fallible, and the consequence of wrong action must be suffered.

The instruction of Ani⁽¹³⁾ came into being during the 18th dynasty (ca. 1558-1303 BC). This scribal production contains instructions in the general areas of social, civic, and religious duties (religion, parents, honourable friends, relatives, superiors, the poor and enemy, etc.). The form is a dialogue between father and son, and its nature is a parental instruction, but father and son are both scribes (Ani and Khenshotep), and this is believed to be a school text in the period of the New Kingdom (ca. 1580-1085 BC).

The instruction of Amen-em-opet is dated to 10th-7th century BC.⁽¹⁴⁾ This is the most important extant work of Egyptian wisdom which has marked affinities with Prov 22:17-23:14.⁽¹⁵⁾ According to the information from 1:13-2:6, Amen-em-opet was not an official of the highest rank, and does not exercise any decisive political influence. It transports us to the lower class of society and scribal establishment as compared with Ptah-hotep. The first chapter begins; "Give thy ears, hear what is said. Give thy heart to understand them".⁽¹⁶⁾

11. ANET, p.415.

12. Ibid., p. 415.

13. Ibid., p. 420.

14. Ibid., pp. 421-424; Irene Grumach, Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope, (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 23), München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972, gives textual examination, translation, and commentary.

15. While the suggestion of the derivation of the Egyptian text from Hebrew wisdom literature was made by Oesterley, W.O.E., "The Teaching of Amen-em-ope", ZAW 45 (1927), p.23, the prevailing scholarly opinion today is the other way around.

16. ANET, p.421.

The gist of the imprudent king is: "Do not try too hard, be not feverishly self-assertive, live within the limits and fate; God will look after the order". Secrecy and discretion are virtues. More important is good public relations.

The instruction of Onchsheshonqy is dated to 5th and 4th century BC,⁽¹⁷⁾ written by a priest of Heliopolis. This does not belong to the world of officials, not to a people of exceptional ability, but to the people of the countryside. Public relation^s should be good and all good fortune is from the hand of God (18:16f; 20:6). This recalls Amen-em-ope in its respect for truth and integrity. More than half is not instruction at all. Many are popular proverbs. Most statements are the fruits of observation and reflection, empirical generalizations within the field of human behaviour and relationship, and the range of subjects covered involves familial relationship, the management of one's affairs, and religious obligations.

The instruction of prince Duauf (Hor-Dedef) is dated to the end of the Old Kingdom. Prince Duauf was one of the most revered Egyptian sages of antiquity, and a son of Khufu, though not the crown prince.⁽¹⁸⁾ The text is truncated and fragmentary. The proper mortuary preparation, which is related to wife, son, and his tomb, dismisses various occupations in favour of that of the official, a theme which reappears in the schoolboy texts of the 19th dynasty.⁽¹⁹⁾

The instruction of king Amen-em-het is the experiences recounted

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17. S.R.K. Glanville, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, II, "The Instructions of Onchsheshonqy", (London: The British Museum, 1955), p.xi; also B. Gemser, "The Instructions of Onchsheshonqy and Biblical Wisdom Literature", (SVT 7), Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1960, pp.102-128, esp. p.106.
 18. ANET, pp.419-420.
 19. A. Erman, op. cit., p.188.

by Amen-em-het I through a court scribe for the benefit of his son Sesostri I (ca. 1971-1928 BC), whom he appointed as co-regent in the 20th year of his reign. Actually the text was written by a court scribe under the patronage of Sesostri I upon the occasion of his ascent to the throne, and purports to be an instruction coming from his dead predecessor, which probably aimed for the legitimisation of the right of succession of the new Pharaoh. His description of his achievements recall the narrative in Koh 1-2. Efforts are made to present the dead king's seemingly unparalleled achievements in military conquests, building projects, administration of justice, and national prosperity, with a major failure in his lack of perception of loyal courtiers and supporters.⁽²⁰⁾

The Instruction of a Man for his Son originates in the early part of the 12th dynasty (ca. 1991-1786 BC).⁽²¹⁾ This text attempts to inculcate within the lesser official a zealous loyalty to the Pharaoh in order to solidify the structure of the kingdom. It shows the response of the loyalist sages to the attack against authority. The central section of the teaching is the indoctrination of the youth in the loyalist creed of the aspiring young men of the king.

3) Mesopotamian Literature : It cannot be determined whether this was originally less extensive than its Egyptian counterpart or whether the fewer remains are purely the result of the severe ups-and downs of political power in Mesopotamia. For the practical in-

20. ANET, pp.418-419; Rudolf Anthes, "The Legal Aspects of the Instruction of Amenemhet", JNES 16 (1957), pp.176-191; Wolfgang Helck, Der Text des Lehre Amenemhets I für seinen Sohn, (Kleine Agyptische Texte 1), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969; A. H. Gardiner, op. cit., p.495.

21. K.A. Kitchen, "Studies in Egyptian Wisdom Literature" - I; "The Instruction by a Man for his Son", Oriens Antiquus 6 (1969), pp.189-208; cf. Leo G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, p.79, fn. 127.

struction of the Babylonian wisdom literature there are various Proverb collections, which stress experience and common sense.⁽²²⁾ The Sumerian Proverbs originates ~~among~~ the scribes of Nippur during the old Babylonian period.⁽²³⁾ This text is used in teaching language and thought and covers a broad range of topics. The sages used satirical humour as a weapon to attack the professional class for its pretentious and pompous self-esteem, which are subject to the stamp of foolishness or incorrect behaviour according to the standard of the wise.

The Advice to a Prince⁽²⁴⁾ belongs to the Akkadian period, dated between ca. 1000-700 BC, and contains omen-patterned counsels to a Babylonian ruler concerning the legal privileges in Nippur, Sippar, and Babylon, and the king's responsibility for social justice and legal right of the citizens.

Another ~~ex~~^eemplary piece of Akkadian wisdom literature is the Counsels of Wisdom,⁽²⁵⁾ dated to probably the Cassite rule of Mesopotamia (ca. 1600-1200 BC).⁽²⁶⁾ This consists of 160 lines, which are divided into ten different sections, each of which contains admonitions with respect to a single topic; bad companion, improper speech, pacification of enemies, kindness, slave girl, prostitute, temptation, etc. The laws are related to a concept of moral order, yet religious motivation does not prevail everywhere. Advice is

22. Bruno Meisner, Babylonien und Assyrien II, (Kulturgeschichte-liche Bibliothek), W. Foy ed., Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925, pp.424ff; G. Ebeling, "Reste Akkadischer Weisheitsliteratur", in FS B. Meisner, 1928, pp.21ff cited by R. Gordis, Koheleth: The Man and His World, New York: 1955, p.11, fn. 18.

23. E. Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs, 1959, pp.3, 23, 24.

24. W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960), pp.110-115, and pp.316f.

25. G.R. Driver - J.C. Miles, Babylonian Laws II, Oxford: 1935,

addressed to a general audience, the quantity of material is small, and the element of command is absent.

Ahikar is in Aramaic and dated 5th-4th century BC.⁽²⁷⁾ This is similar to that of Onchsheshonqy, in that only a small part of the material is in the imperative or jussive, and it contains much that is not instruction. Ahikar was a wise and keen-witted statesman; who taught his son. Some of the writing is general in character and has no special application, and a disciplined tongue and secretiveness are political virtues. But, strong religious colouring and moralism abound; hospitality, wisdom, and secretiveness. Instruction is conveyed by means of imagery, which allows a considerable freedom of interpretation. God always takes the side of the righteous man, and upholds his cause. Without wisdom man is in the cold or the dark.

The Babylonian Book of Proverbs originates from the late third or early second century BC. It blends religious and ethical motifs with more practical considerations, like the biblical book of this name. The Babylonian sage warns against such vices as undue talk, slander, impulsiveness in oaths, taking counsel with fools, and getting embroiled in quarrels or law-suits. He teaches the virtues of requiting evil with good, helping the poor, and showing consideration for one's servants. He urges avoiding involvement with harlots and sacred prostitutes. The virtues he stresses are loyalty to one's superiors, honesty with one's possessions, the practice of truth-telling, and the performance of one's duty towards the gods through

(continued) pp.7f, 94f; W.G. Lambert, op. cit., pp.96-107.

26. W.G. Lambert, op. cit., p.97; other instructions include the "Instructions of Shuruppak", a section in the "Shamash Hymn", and "Counsels of a Pessimist"; cf. Leo G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, p.126 fn.74.

27. A.E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923, pp.204f.

prayer and offerings. (28)

In sum, Hebrew wisdom did not arise in a vacuum^u. It was part of the cultural pattern of the Ancient Near East, and biblical wisdom presupposes a long period of preparation and development until it reaches its peak in the Book of Proverbs, Job, and Koheleth. This has made scholars aware not only of the presence of Egyptian literary materials in Proverbs, but also of the existence of small literary units, maybe called wisdom books in the sense of composition, implying something more than an unco-ordinated collection of sayings. (29)

28. R. Gordis, "Background of Oriental Wisdom", in: Koheleth: the Man and His World, p. 11.
29. In at least one case, the book of the "sayings of the wise" (Prov 22:17-24:22) appeared to be an actual wisdom-book, modelled upon a type of foreign literature. The connection between the 30 chapters of Amen-em-opet and the number 30 in Prov 2 was first recognized by Adolf Erman, "Eine Ägyptische Quelle der Sprüche Salomos" (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 15), 1924, pp. 86-93; see W. Richter's study, Recht und Ethos: Versuch einer Ortung des weisheitlichen Mahnspruches, (Studien zum alten und neuen Testament 15), München: Kösel Verlag, 1966, pp. 197-208. Of course, this raises the possibility that there may be other literary units in the book of Proverbs, which have not as yet been identified. Egyptian wisdom literature could play a further role in helping to identify those literary units by providing examples of other types of collections of wisdom, which enable the scholar to look for similar literary types in Hebrew proverbial literature.

The popularity of such small collections of wisdom is attested by their existence not only in Egypt but also in Syria as well as Palestine. Though no corpus of Canaanite wisdom literature is extant, "The wisdom of Shub'awilum", another small wisdom-book discovered at Ugarit written in middle Babylonian, an extract of which also appears at Bogazköy, the Hittite capital, is evidence of the international character of wisdom; J. Nougayrol, Extrait de Ugaritica V, (Paris: Geuthner, 1968), pp. 273-290, quoted by Bryce, "Another Wisdom-book in Proverbs", JBL 91 (1972), p. 145;

Another important Egyptian composition is entitled the Kemyt, an Egyptian word meaning complete. For the texts, cf. G. Posener, Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medineh, (Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Cairo 18), Cairo, 1951, pls. 1-21. Translation and interpretation are given in W.W. Hayes, "A much Copied Letter of the Early Middle Kingdom", JNET 7 (1948), pp. 1-10.

2. The Early Hebrew Wisdom

1) The Use and Meaning of the Term "Wisdom": In the OT חָכְמָה and חֵכְמָה sometimes refer to technical and artistic skill (i.e. Ex 28:3-5; 35:10; I Kg 7:14; Is 40:20; Jer 10:9). The words are also applied to the poet and singer, both vocal and instrumental (I Kg 5:10-12), the weavers (Ex 35:25), goldsmiths (Jer 10:9), sailors (Ezk 27:8; Ps 107:27), and women skilled in lamentation (Jer 9:16). Bezalel, the skilled craftsman who built the Tabernacle, was called "the wise of heart" (Ex 28:3; 35:31; 36:1). The magicians and soothsayers with all their occult arts (Gen 41:8; I Kg 5:10-12; Is 44:25; Jer 9:16), the skilful conduct of war (Is 10:10), skilful administration of the state (Is 29:14; Jer 49:7), and even the midwife in Rabbinic literature,⁽³⁰⁾ were all called wise. Wisdom is attributed even to certain animals (Prov 6:6-8; 30:24-28).

In Proverbs the term חָכְמָה is mostly contrasted with תְּבוּנָה, אֵלֶּכְס, אֵלֶּכְס. Wisdom designates a quality of mind and heart, whereby one is able to cope with the problems of life and to give good counsel to others. Certain individuals were reputed to be wise; the woman of Tekoa (II Sam 14:2; 20:16), Agur (Prov 30:1), and Solomon (I Kg 3:4; 4:29,34; 5:7,12; 10:1-23). Another level of wisdom is found in the recorders, scribes or secretaries, and counsellors in the royal court (II Sam 8:16-17; 15:12; 20:24; I Kg 4:3; II Kg 12:10; 18:18; etc.). The tribal leaders were expected to be wise (Dt 1:15) in their various administrative duties in the local government (Dt 19:12; 21:2,19; 22:15; 25:7, cf. Ezk 7:26). Therefore, the practitioners of wisdom must not be thought of as a compact watertight group within Hebrew society. They were involved in many facets of Jewish life. These elders, sages, scribes and counsellors merged ultimately to produce

30. M. Shab. 18:3; Rosh Hashanah 2:5 and B. Erub 45a.

the wisdom movement, whose members were most commonly known as wise men.

According to Lambert the Babylonian terms "wise" and "wisdom" are used in relation to skill in cult and magic and are not appropriate to those Babylonian documents which in subject-matter resemble the Israelite wisdom literature. The salient characteristics of such compositions seem to be didactic intent, concern for matters of human conduct, and the attempt to discover the order and meaning of things.⁽³²⁾ The term "instruction" is not intended to restrict consideration to those compositions which are classified as "instruction", but extends to the concept of the communication of learning from teacher to student, whether the teacher be presented as a god, a king, a father, or a professional member of a school. This concept and practice were widespread and go back to the very beginning of the wisdom tradition.

It is clear that Israel's own wisdom movement, and especially her concept of "instruction" is a continuation of what is found in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and is to some extent dependent upon them.⁽³³⁾ Von Rad defined wisdom as the "practical knowledge of the law of life and of the world, based upon experience."⁽³⁴⁾ Crenshaw defines it as "The quest for a self understanding in terms of relationships with things, people, and the Creator".⁽³⁵⁾ The former tends to be too broad and

31. W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, 1960, p. 1.

32. S.N. Kramer, "Sumerian Wisdom Literature: a Preliminary Survey", BASOR 122 (1951), pp. 28-31, lists five categories of Sumerian wisdom literature; 1) Proverbs 2) miniature essays 3) instructions and precepts 4) essays concerned with school and scribe 5) and disputes and debates.

33. O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature; its Bearing on Theology and the History of Religion, Edinburgh, 1936, pp. 7f and 14; G. Von Rad, "Job 38 and Ancient Egyptian Wisdom", in: The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, tr. E.W.T. Dicken (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 281-291.

the second too narrow. The OT wisdom is the capacity to see through, to co-ordinate, and to master the nature^{al} and social sphere. Wisdom begins from the observation of phenomena of nature or social order with an attempt to determine what is, to establish the fact, and to confirm or verify their order and relationship. Wisdom is also an ability to get on in the world, to deal with difficult situations, primarily shrewdness, intellectual quality, which provides the key to happiness and success in life. (36)

We may categorise the Israelite wisdom according to the various ways in which it functions. There is a nature wisdom, which seeks to take possession of environment through the formation of a list of things, animals, and plants as extensive as possible; as in the *Onomastica*. Many lists have been handed down from Egypt and Sumer, and such a wisdom list must have been transmitted in Israel; for example, i Kg 5:12f; Job 28:41; Gen 1 and 10. There is judicial wisdom (I Kg 3:16-28), and political wisdom as Ahitophel's (II Sam 16). But above all, the majority of wisdom in the OT is life wisdom, which deals with human relationships. There is tribal wisdom, which partly originated in the nomadic period (cf. Jer 35:6f). The concise rule of relationships for daily life is expressed in a proverb as an experience wisdom; i.e. Proverbs 26. There is also court wisdom which is international rules for the officials and diplomats that have been nurtured in the wisdom school, i.e. Prov 22:17-23:14. There is also art wisdom, such as, the poetry

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34. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, (Edinburgh, 1957 & 1962 E., p. 418.
35. J.L. Crenshaw, "Method in Determining Wisdom Influence upon Historical Literature", JBL 88 (1969), p. 132.
36. R.N. Whybray, Intellectual Tradition of the Old Testament, (BZAW 135), 1974, pp. 8-9.

developed in the wisdom school, especially the number-maxims of Prov 30:15-33. Above them all is theological wisdom, which attempts to combine secular wisdom with faith in Yahweh.

Most of the early wisdom we find in the Proverbs is the literary product of the popular proverbs, and is described as māshāl (משל). Eissfeldt at first held that the basic meaning of māshāl should be "likeness"⁽³⁷⁾ because Arabic "mathala" (represent), Akkadian "masalu", Ethiopian "masala", Aramaic ܡܫܠ (be like), Syriac ܡܫܠܐ (compare) show a process from the concrete to the abstract.

But, the explanation most generally put forward is "word of power"⁽³⁸⁾ Bentzen adheres to the Hebrew meaning "to rule" because the simple review of the total field of usage would contend to this. Eissfeldt states magical saying as its probable original meaning.⁽³⁹⁾ The term māshāl can be elucidated in terms of a basic meaning "to stand" (Das Feststehende), which can be paraphrased as "wisdom teaching which is well established" and "valid instruction for practical affairs".

McKane investigated whether some popular proverbs in the OT can be elucidated on the assumption that there can be applied to them some such meaning as "model", "exemplar", or "paradigm",⁽⁴⁰⁾ and he

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37. O. Eissfeldt, Der Mashal in Alten Testament, Giessen, 1913, p. 6; the term māshāl outside the Book of Proverbs appears in Num 21:27; 23:7,18; 24:3,15,20,21,23; Dt 28:7; I Kg 9:7; Is 14:4; Jer 24:9; Ezk 14:8; 17:2; 24:3; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6; Ps 44:15; 49:5; 69:12; 78:2; Job 7:6.
38. B. Gemser, Di Sprüche Salomos, (HAT 10), Tübingen: JCB Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1963, p. 8, fn. 6; A. Weiser, The Introduction to the Old Testament: its Formation and Development, tr. D.A. Barton, London, 1961, p. 40; A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament I, Copenhagen, 1948/49, p. 168; A.R. Johnson, "משל", in: Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, (SVT 3), 1955, p. 168.
39. O. Eissfeldt, Old Testament: An Introduction, tr. P.R. Ackroyd, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965, p. 82.
40. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, 1970, pp. 26-31.

confirmed Pfeiffer's and Herbert's conclusion that in the latter usage the meaning of mashal has lost precision and particularity.⁽⁴¹⁾ In order to communicate clearly and authoritatively, and without ambiguity it sacrifices imaginative language, thus achieving pedestrian clarity.⁽⁴²⁾ The popular proverb is a model with its wide scope of interpretation.

2) The Situation of the Early Wisdom

i) The Royal Court : The political and social background of the Proverbs is vague and they cannot be dated with any exactitude. The references to kings (14:28; 16:10,13; 20:2,18,28 etc), possibly to Israel's kings, and the reference to some Proverbs (Prov 25:1) being copied out in Hezekiah's time (ca. 700 BC), suggest that some of our Proverbs attained their present form much earlier than eighth century BC. We have to assume that much of the Book of Proverbs is pre-exilic and even before the fall of Northern Kingdom, because it is evident that Egyptian and Babylonian wisdom were both older than the Hebrew counterpart, and only the establishment of the strong centralised monarchy at the time of David and Solomon (ca. 100-960 BC) could have provided the basis for an intensive cultivation of the national culture. The use of the phrase "the proverbs of Solomon" (1:1; 10:1; 25:1) betokens a tradition that some epigrams were composed or collected by Solomon (cf. I Kg 3:5-14; 16-18; 4:29-34 etc). This is not difficult to believe, although to identify his contributions in the Book of Proverbs is quite impossible. The tradition that Solomon was an author of wisdom sayings can no longer so easily be

41. R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1941, 1952), p. 645; A.S. Herbert, "The 'Parable' (mashal) in the Old Testament", SJTh 7 p. 194.

42. W. McKane, op. cit., p. 22.

dismissed as a figment of the folk-imagination. There is every reason to believe that Solomon's reign marks the first golden age in the history of Hebrew wisdom literature. His extensive political and commercial contacts with other lands (cf. I Kg 9:11ff, 24-28; 10:26:29), particularly with Egypt, provided the basis for close intellectual relations with the Nile valley. The domestic prosperity and sense of national well-being during Solomon's reign supplied the necessary background for literary creativity. The existence of an extensive wisdom literature in Egypt in the period prior to Solomon and the customary attribution of its scribal writings to the king Pharaoh under whom they worked must have paved the way for Israelite scribes to put their words in the king Solomon's mouth, as in the maxims of Merikere and the wisdom of Amenemhet.⁽⁴³⁾ It is generally admitted that the wisdom movement goes back at least to the time of the early monarchy.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The composition of Israel's wisdom attests to early procedures and terminology and the content consists largely of the accumulated experience and insight of earlier generations.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The existence of a school where writing was taught and the texts were copied might be supposed.

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43. Budge assigns the latter work, the most important of all for Hebrew wisdom, to the 18th dynasty, A. Erman to the 21st or 22nd dynasty, ca. the first millennium; Griffiths to the 21st to 26th dynasty; cf. R. Gordis, Koheleth: the Man and his World, pp. 19-20.
44. A. Alt, "Die Weisheit Salomos", TLZ 76 (1951), pp. 139-144, who argues for the existence of the Onomasticon; W. Baumgartner, "The Wisdom Literatures", in: The Old Testament and Modern Study, H.H. Rowley ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1951, 1961), p. 211; E.W. Heaton, The Hebrew Kingdoms, (Clarendon Bible OT 3), London, 1963, pp. 167-174.
45. H.H. Schmidt, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, (BZAW 101), Berlin, 1966, pp. 27f.

ii) The Scribes in the Court : A distinctive feature in recent wisdom research is the stress laid on the court and wisdom school as the life-situation of the early wisdom literature. There is no doubt that Israelite kings maintained a body of men who both advised them and administered their policies.⁽⁴⁶⁾ A variety of persons and groups of persons were dealing with kings, belonging to the king's immediate entourage; the advice was given by a prophet or a priest, or sometimes by a named individual (II Sam 19:5ff), beside the elders of Israel (II Sam 12:17; 17:3,4,15; I Kg 20:7-9), the old man and young men (I Kg 12:6-14). However, חָכָם is never used as the title of any person or any group of persons in the historical books.

Oesterley says that there can be no doubt that the three distinctive classes, such as, the priests, the prophets, and the wise men, were in existence long before Scribes in the technical sense were heard of.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The wise men were no less than the priests occupying with their particular study of the law.⁽⁴⁸⁾ But Whybray denies the existence of wise men as a professional class similar to that of priests and prophets.⁽⁴⁹⁾ He observes that the wise men at Egyptian court were the cleverest magicians, and the function of the Babylonian wise man was not that of political adviser, but that of interpreter of signs and dreams (Dan 2:4,5). Whybray points out that 1) the wise men at the Israelite court did not have title of "the wise man".

46. R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions, tr. J. McHugh, London, 1961, pp. 127-132; W. McKane, op. cit., pp. 14-47.

47. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Books of the Apocrypha; their Origin, Teaching and Contents, London, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1914, p. 115.

48. Ibid., p. 116.

49. R.N. Whybray, The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament, (BZAW 135), 1974.

2) Jer 18:18 seems to refer to three professional classes: "...for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet". But, Jer 49 mentions the priests and prophets with princes as the leaders and authorities on whom the nation depends, and yet it does not mention the wise men. 3) In the light of Jer 8:9; "the wise men shall be put to shame, they seek a vision from the prophet, but the law perishes from the priests, and the counsel from the elders", this triple saying of Jer 18:18 is not a reference to three professional classes.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Therefore, Whybray claims that the term "wise men" cannot be shown to have been used in a technical sense denoting a professional class at court.⁽⁵¹⁾

If the wise men in the court were not a professional class and thereby it can not be assumed as the life-situation of the early Hebrew wisdom, the next question is whether the existence of the school in the court may be assumed or not. The OT does not give much evidence for the existence of education in Israel, which, over and above the tuition given in the family, has often been presupposed. Hermisson supports the theory that Israel actually had a school for advanced education with following circumstantial evidence:⁽⁵²⁾ 1) The scribal school at Ugarit is related with the recent discoveries of wisdom texts. 2) The development of a royal administration in Israel created a need for a scribal school for non-official class of scribes, the upper class, and some groups of artisans. 3) The priests were in all probability educated at the temple school. 4) Prov 16:1-22:16 could be understood as being an instruction to officials and

50. R.N. Whybray, The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament, 1974, p. 31.

51. Ibid., p. 16.

52. H.J. Hermisson, Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit, 1968, pp. 97-136, esp. pp. 113ff.

diplomats, and Prov 28-29 to a prince.⁽⁵³⁾

The instruction of Jehoash by Jehoiada, the priest (II Kg 12:5), the prophet Nathan's tutorship to Solomon (on the basis of emended text of II Sam 12:25), the cost of education mentioned in Prov 17:16, ("Why should a fool have a price in his hand to buy wisdom?"), the existence of the prophetic groups of disciples (I Kg 19), the indispensable need of government organization for scribes can be accounted as the basis of the presupposition.

The term "scribe" (שֹׁדֵד) in Hebrew is used in the sense of "secretary" or the like; in II Sam 8:17, e.g. among David's officials are reckoned "Zadok, the son of Ahitub and Ahimelech, the son of Abiathar, who were priests, and Seraiah, who was scribe". As a royal official he had various duties; as treasurer (II Kg 22:11; II Ch 24:11), in some military capacity (II Kg 25:29; Jer 52:25), as one who writes (Ps 45:2), or as king's secretary who writes out decrees (Esth 3:12). All except Ps 45:2 sees the scribe as a royal official, and show that the ideas of counting and writing are connected with the term שֹׁדֵד .

The ability to read and write could have been a skill limited to a certain number of groups of scribes, employed by religious and political establishments, and this group could have formed the first administrative and bureaucratic class. Education outside the immediate family boundary took ^{on} a new importance after the establishment of the United Monarchy.

In Proverbs מִןּ occurs 22 times, which reflects the paedagogic approach. Though this refers to the instruction of parents, it also means "my pupil".⁽⁵⁴⁾ Ginsberg pointed out that מִןּ was the ac-

53. H.J. Hermisson, Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit, p. 143.

cepted form of address of a master to his disciple in Tannaitic and early Amoraic times.⁽⁵⁵⁾

The content of the early wisdom also suggests the existence of some sort of school for the youngsters of the upper class in the society. Firstly, the constant emphasis upon sexual morality (Prov 5:7f; 6:24; 7:5ff; 23:27ff) implies that the students were not children but young men, who had the opportunity and means for personal indulgence. Emphasis on abstaining from sexual liaisons outside the marriage bond (Prov 2:2,16ff; 5:9,15; 7:5ff; 22:14; 23:27; 30:20; Sir 9:1ff; 19:2; 23:16; 25:2; 36:30) reflects the general phenomenon of its availability. Secondly, the references to precious linen (Prov 7:1ff), stones (Prov 3:15; 8:1; 20:15; 31:10; Job 28:18), meat (Prov 17:1), and the danger of wine-bibbing and gluttony (Prov 23:1f, 20f,29f; 30:8-10; Koh 7:16f; Sir 18:30f) reflect the life of the upper class of the society. Thirdly, the exhortation for diligence, prudence, restraint in speech, reliability, charity (Prov 3: 8; 22:22), loyalty to authority, and not standing surety for one's neighbour (Prov 6:1-5; 11:13; 17:13; 22:26f; 20:16; 29:13) reflect the chief virtues of the propertied class, and it is an utilitarian morality. Fourthly, there is a conservative religious idea that virtue leads to well-being and vice to poverty and disaster, and that blessings are showered upon the upright, but removed from the wicked (Prov 10:2; 16:22; 11:28; 12:22).⁽⁵⁶⁾ All these conditions prevailed among the young of the wealthy classes.

54. H. Toy, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, (ICC), Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 8 and 12.

55. Louis Ginsberg, Commentary on Jerusalem Talmud, (New York, 1940, pp. 238 and 300; It is noteworthy that Koheleth does not use the term, probably because the book was not a text book for youth but rather a personal note book; cf. R. Gordis, Koheleth: the Man and his World, 1955, p. 32.

iii) The Temple Singers : Early appearance of wisdom can also be detected in the songs.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The early traditions of the exploits of tribal heroes were embodied in song, and some of these poems are preserved in later prose narratives like the "book of Jashar" (Josh 10:10; II Sam 1:18; I Kg 8:53 in LXX). The relationship between song and wisdom was so close that often no distinction was drawn between the two as I Kg 4:30-32, where Solomon is pictured as a songwriter as well:

"... and Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men, and he spoke three thousand proverbs and his songs were a thousand and five (LXX:5,000)."

Evidence from Ugaritic sources corroborates the biblical tradition, and in fact the guilds of singers probably go back to the Canaanite period.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The Book of Psalms is a great collection of religious poetry, most of which were chanted at the temple service with musical accompaniment. The composition and rendition of the psalm required a high degree of technical skill, which is wisdom, and much of its content has close affinities with the proverbial lore of the wisdom teachers.

3) The Content of Early Wisdom

i) General Nature of the Content : The nature of the Israelite early wisdom even in its earliest stage was not a mere importation from foreign lands but an indigenous development, which is reflected in the Proverbs, and fragments of a pre-Solomonic age are preserved in the Bible; such as, Samson's riddle (Judg 14:14,18), the cry

56. R. Gordis, Koheleth: the Man and his World, p. 37.

57. Ibid., p. 17

58. cf. W.F. Albright, "The Canaanite Origin of Israelite Musical guilds", (yet unpublished), as cited by R. Gordis, op. cit., chap. II, fn. 9.

against David's house (I Kg 12:16), the parable of Jotham (Josh 9:2f), David's quotation of an ancient proverb: "out of the wicked comes forth wickedness" (I Sam 24:13), Nathan's parable (concerning a poor man's lamb) indicting his royal master (II Sam 12:1ff), the wise woman's fictitious case as a parable of king's relationship to his son Absalom (II Sam 14), the change in Saul: "Is Saul among the prophets?" (I Sam 10:11; 19:24), Jeremiah's mashal to the claim of divine revelation in dreams: "What has straw in common with wheat?" (Jer 23:28), the proverb quoted in both Jer 31:29 and Ezk 18:2, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer 31:29), and the parable of Joash, the dismissal of Amaziah as a thistle by the side of a cedar (II Kg 14:9). These are examples of folk wisdom; and the occurrence of similar sayings in the wisdom books (e.g. Prov 11:12; 13:20; 16:26a) indicates that there was a fusion of such popular lore with the more sophisticated type of wisdom teaching. The evidence from oriental wisdom tradition generally indicates that Hebrew wisdom was not a late development, but on the contrary, was cultivated by the scribes in the royal court and temple as early as the period of the United Monarchy. It is generally considered that Prov 10:1-22:16 and 25-29 are the oldest collections of maxims. Rankin dates Prov 10:1-22:16 to the Solomonic period and the nucleus of 25-29 to the period of Hezekiah.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The early material in Proverbs consists of moral precepts and observations on life, all in poetic form. The scribal wisdom and folk wisdom affirm the supreme value of experience. The appeal is to experience rather than authority. The necessary conditions of acquiring wisdom are said to be humility (11:2), taking advice (13:

59. O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, 1936, p. 56.

10), prudence (8:12; 14:8), understanding (17:24), and righteousness (10:31).

Wisdom begins with listening to the elders. The sum of experiences makes skill in living, which produces success and happiness and insists on competence and diligence. It never doubts that the rod makes good children. It is a discipline, and the result of chastisement (Prov 29:15). The most important person is one's superior. The inculcated virtues are diligence and honesty, control of speech and emotion, correct attitude to riches, bribery, wine, and women. Hard work, zeal, prudence, and sexual moderation are essential. Therefore, wisdom is understood as the foundation of the family (24:3) and the way to salvation (28:6). Practical wisdom, such as, 10:19; 18:16, appears hard-headed, matter of fact, safe and sane, but Hebrew wisdom developed to justice and mercy. Morality was seen to be a more effective road to success than sin. This may be described as the lower practical wisdom.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The early wisdom is the most secular, concerned broadly rather than specially with Jewish problems. Gunkel noted that "the Hebrew proverbs were in the beginning altogether secular and the religious motive was introduced late".⁽⁶¹⁾ Von Rad considers Prov 25 as belonging to the most profane or "worldly" collection of wisdom.⁽⁶²⁾ By many the ethics of the Book of Proverbs have been characterized as "utilitarian" as a shrewd kind of morality.⁽⁶³⁾ This does not distinguish between utilitarian and ethical good, because the ancient conviction was that the good is always the useful.

ii) The "Secular" Aspect of Early Wisdom : The Hebrew early wis-

60. R. Gordis, Koheleth: the Man and his World, p. 26.

61. H. Gunkel, "Proverbien", RGG², Tübingen, 1929.

62. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, pp. 436-437.

dom, as a part of the larger pattern of oriental wisdom, is international in scope, secular in spirit, and practical in intent. It does not refer to Heilsgeschichte, election, covenant, law, and deals with the experience of man as man, which exhibits workable morality with a sagacious understanding of human nature, an unabashed^a interest in individual happiness, a fearless use of reason in confronting the fundamental issues of life, a refusal to pretend to certainty, and an unswerving allegiance to truth. Therefore, this collection may appear to remain outside of what may be called "theological" teaching.

The motivation of good conduct and the satisfaction of reward for good conduct is life; such as, wealth, honour, good name, posterity, long life. This may appear to be worldly ethics. The contribution of the Israelites' early wisdom is based on natural theology rather than on historical and revealed theology. It is empirical rather than confessional, realistic rather than idealistic, rational rather than devotional. It advocates salvation by wisdom, which is the agent of God's indirect revelation. Wisdom is the order for correct social behaviour and the Proverbs are a deposit of morality. It is a self-illuminating or self-evident life-promoting force.

iii) The Doctrine of Retribution : The existence of a doctrine of retribution in the wisdom literature has been denied by K. Koch with his finding that the suffering of the wicked was not regarded as a punishment meted out by Yahweh but rather as the consequence of his act. Yahweh sometimes is involved but his activity and intervention appears to be rather superficial and cannot be described as requital.⁽⁶⁴⁾ In Prov 10-29 the view of life does not differ funda-

63. W. Baumgartner, Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit, Tübingen, 1933, p. 6; O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, 1936, pp. 4-9.

mentally from those of Mesopotamia and Egypt; Yahweh has ordered the world, and the wise man seeks to live according to the divinely established order of retribution, even though he cannot always understand it, and the sages' teaching has behind it the authority of that order. Gese sees the specifically Israelite faith in Yahweh in Prov 10:22; 16:1,9,33; 20:24; 21:1,30; 25:2, in which God is portrayed as free to act independently of the order in the universe as the free grace of God.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Skladny criticises this by saying that divine intervention is not between an act and its consequence in 10:22 and 25:2 but between the making of a human plan and its translation into action, which cannot be the distinctive Israelite element.⁽⁶⁶⁾ He claims that the collections in Prov 10-15 and 28-29 contain a belief in a connection not so much between an act and its consequence as between one's way of life and his destiny (e.g. 14:14a; 15:32a).

The Israelite wisdom which was not secular in its origins any more than that of Egypt, but tended to become both more explicitly theological and more anthropological. Gese's theory of God's free intervention is not the outlook peculiar to Israel but can also be found in Egypt and Mesopotamian literature.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Von Rad also agrees that the early Hebrew wisdom owed much to foreign influence and believed that God's providence worked in a hidden way through ordinary events. Although Yahweh is not mentioned in many of the early wisdom sayings, their teaching should not be regarded as merely utilitarian or eudaemonistic. It does not conflict with faith in Yahweh, for he was believed to have created the order and to sustain it.

64. K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im Alten Testament?", ZTK 52 (1955), pp. 1-42.

65. H. Gese, Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit, Tübingen, 1958,

66. U. Skladny, Die Ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel, Göttingen, 1962.

to sum up: 1) Early Hebrew wisdom lacks marks of the specifically Israelite tradition, such as, Heilsgeschichte, election, covenant, and law. 2) But, the early wisdom should not be taken as wholly utilitarian or eudaemonistic and secular, though it appears to be anthropocentric. 3) The name of Yahweh appears frequently, and he was described as the one who has ordered the world and authorizes the retributive order. 4) The cause and effect in retribution are not seen as altogether mechanical. Not only has Yahweh ordered the world order but also he often intervenes between the human plan and man's destiny, bridging the gap between human plan and its translation into action. He is free to act independently of the order in the universe. Yahweh watches over the inner connection between an act and its consequence.

iv) The Religious Aspect : The next question would be to ask whether Israel's early wisdom was totally secular. Skladny offers a scheme of the collection of Proverbs as an architectonic unity with thematic coherence; "A" as righteousness-wickedness antithesis (10-15), "B" as Yahweh and the king (16:1-22:16), "C" as nature and agriculture (25-27), and "D" as the young men who are to be the ruling class (28-29).⁽⁶⁸⁾ This scheme has not won general acceptance from other scholars.

McKane offered a different classification: "A" as for the success and harmony in the individual life, "B" as the anti-social behaviour with the harmful effects in the community life, "C" as for Yahwistic piety in God-language or moralism. McKane argues that

67. H.H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit: Eine Untersuchung zur altorientalischen in israelitischen Weisheitsliteratur, (BZAW 101), 1966,

68. U. Skladny, Die Ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel, 1962, pp. 55ff and 67f.

class "C" represents a re-interpretation of class "A", and a later stage in the history of OT wisdom tradition, in agreement with Fichtner, Sellin, and Scott.⁽⁶⁹⁾ McKane asserts:

"In the late pre-exilic period the wise men, who stood in an international tradition of wisdom, were beginning to come to terms with Yahwism, that wisdom had begun to make its bow to distinctively Israelite biblical traditions and that the wise men were in the way of becoming biblical scholars, devoted to sacred learning." (70)

The ascription of Prov 25-29 to the men of Hezekiah (i.e. to those engaged in literary and editorial tasks under his patronage) is generally regarded as trustworthy.⁽⁷¹⁾ The antithesis of righteous-wicked, which McKane took along with the fear of Yahweh aspect as evidence of the later Yahwistic reinterpretation of early wisdom as a new mashal, is thought by Skladny, Gemser, and Rankin to point to the earliness of the collection.⁽⁷²⁾ H.H. Schmid even demonstrated its likeness to the righteous-wicked antithesis as found in the Egyptian concept of Ma'at.⁽⁷³⁾ Skladny also holds the view that it

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69. J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch jüdischen Ausprägung, (BZAW 62), 1933, pp. 24f; R.B. Y. Scott, Proverbs, (AB), 1965, 1971, p.17.
70. W. McKane, Proverbs, (OTL), p. 19; idem, Prophets and Wise Men, (SBT 1/44), London: SCM Press, 1966, p. 102; McKane's theory of a Yahwistic reinterpretation is based on 1) the pejorative use of the vocabularies of intellectual virtue in favour of Yahweh (8:12b; 14:17b; 12:5; 19:21; 20:24 etc), 2) the substitution of disciplinary piety for educational discipline and of Yahweh for the place of wisdom teacher, 3) two differing attitudes to one action, such as to bribery (17:8; 18:16; 21:14 vx. 15:27; 17:23).
71. R.B.Y. Scott argues that though it reached its present form in the 5th-4th century BC, much of the material of 10:1-22:16 is pre-exilic in origin, Proverbs, (AB) 1965, p. xxv and xxxiii; H. Ringgren, Sprüche/Prediger, (ATD 16/1), 1967, p. 8; W. McKane, Proverbs, (OTL) 1970, p. 14; O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, 1965, p. 475; A. Weiser, The Introduction to the Old Testament, 1961, p. 297; Eissfeldt recognizes the Aramaism in 14:34 (אֲדָמָה), 17:10 (אֲדָמָה), 18:24 (אֲדָמָה), and 19:20 (אֲדָמָה) which makes its collection to be post-exilic. All of them refer to the date when the material in

might be conceptually related to the doctrine of Ma'at of Egyptian wisdom.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Whybray sees hardly any hints of the history of the wisdom tradition to be gathered from the Book of Proverbs,⁽⁷⁵⁾ because the book lacks any specifically Israelite traits, and the allusions to Yahweh are superficial and do not disturb the general impression of extra-Israelite materials. Rankin, with Baumgartner,⁽⁷⁶⁾ observes that empirical wisdom and divine wisdom may have originated independently of each other. Rankin asserts that the religious character of Israelite wisdom is original to the early wisdom, and is not tacked on later in order to transform an empirical type of wisdom.⁽⁷⁷⁾

We have confirmed that the older wisdom collection had a rather individualistic, utilitarian outlook: acceptance of parental advice, the value of wealth, solicitude for the poor, intemperance, sex, control of temper, tongue, pride, carefulness, prudence, etc. to guide man to right living. McKane assumes when he postulates the Yahwistic reinterpretation that when Israel made no change in the Content of its wisdom, a strain must have developed between their religiosity and the maxims, and the effort to remove the moral neutrality was inevitable. In the early Hebrew wisdom as well as in the wisdom

(continued) 25-29 was collected and edited, and not to the date of the contents of 25-29.

72. U. Skladny, Die Ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel, p. 67; B. Gemser, Die Sprüche Salomos, p. 4; O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, p. 69f.
73. H.H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, pp. 159f.
74. U. Skladny, op. cit., pp. 7f and 71f.
75. R.N. Whybray, The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament, (BZAW 135), 1974, pp. 24f.
76. W. Baumgartner, Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit, 1933, p. 28.
77. O.S. Rankin, op. cit., pp. 69f.

tradition of Egypt and Mesopotamia there are motivation for and sanction in the recognition of God. The term "god" occurs seven times and "Yahweh" 86 times, even in a short prayer in 30:7-9. If Israel's early wisdom were totally secular, this phenomenon has to be explained.

The oldest collections of Prov 10:1-22:16 and 28-29 use exclusively the name of Yahweh, the national name of the Deity; 55 times in 10:1-22:16 compared to 19 in 1-9 (6 times in 22:17-27:27, 5 times in 28-29) and twice in 30-31. But, when it occurs often it appears in stock phrases like "the fear of Yahweh", "the blessing of Yahweh", "the abomination" or "the knowledge of Yahweh", etc. (78)

Wisdom and morality do not go always together. Scribal or folk wisdom can be divorced from the religious and theological cast of thought. This is a more natural way of explaining the religious aspect which is intrinsic to the practical maxims in the Proverbs. Egyptian scribes in the New Kingdom show their similar concern. Mythology could be seen as an attempt to speak of certain speculative problems placing the answer in the minds of the gods. (79) Israelite wisdom circles might have accepted the content of conventional wisdom most of the time without criticism or meditation, or, as R. de Vaux claims, the early scribal profession of Israel could have been Egyptian in origin and style through the importation of scribes from Egypt to handle the palace business of David and Solomon. (80)

78. Taking ch. 16 at random we find "Yahweh" used 10 times, of which at least four are in stock phrases, in vv. 5, 6, 7?, 20; cf. R. Gordis, *Kohleth: the Man and his World*, p. 32; On divine name in wisdom see J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch jüdischen Ausprägung*, p. 103f; O.S. Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

79. J.L. McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 207f.

80. R. de Vaux, "Mélange: titres et fonctionnaires 'Egyptiens' à la cour de David et de Salomon", *RB* 48 (1939), pp. 394-409.

At the same time it is true that the early Hebrew sages sought to master things by observation and their task of education stands at the centre of the wisdom movement.⁽⁸¹⁾ But, it is probable that right from the beginning there crept into the teaching of wisdom a compromise with Israel's powerful religious tradition.

The dual aspects of wisdom, the early piety and utilitarianism, are apparent in the earliest collection of Israelite wisdom, because there are plentiful references to Yahweh as the one who demands and rewards goodness and punishes evil. The religious element in Prov 10:1-22:16 does not seem to be woven in or tacked on later. It does not appear to be an afterthought or addition, from a brief statistical analysis. Therefore, it is certain that from the very outset in Israel's wisdom writings the religious sanction of right ^dconduct was thought to be present.⁽⁸²⁾ The idea of individual retribution was associated with Israelite religion from the beginning.

The collection of Prov 25-27 is the most worldly section of the Israelite wisdom literature.⁽⁸³⁾ In this material there is no apparent tie between wisdom and the official religion. There is a stronger religious tone in 28-29 as well as 16:1-22:16 than in 25:1-27:10. Yet according to Skladny⁽⁸⁴⁾ the appearance of the name of Yahweh in 25-27 is 48 % of the sentences compared to 24,3 % in 28-29, and 27,5 % in 16:1-22:16, but it seldom occurs in 10-15. Instead, the religious character of the contrast of righteous-wicked is clear; we see 94 occurrences in 10-15, while only four in 25-27.⁽⁸⁵⁾

81. J.L. Crenshaw, "The Human Dilemma and Literature", in: Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament, D.A. Knight ed. (London: 1977), pp. 235-258.

82. O.S. Rankin, op. cit., p. 69.

83. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, p. 435; J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit, (BZAW 62), p. 62.

The principle of retribution is equally evident in 25:21f; 24:12b, which are similar to 15:25; 19:17; 22:22f as well as 11:2,20; 12:2.

The phrase *אֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה* raises also the question of the relationship between the Prov 1-9 to the Book of Deuteronomy, because it occurs only in Proverbs and Deuteronomy; Prov 3:32; 11:1,20; 12:22; 15:8,9,26; 16:5; 17:15; 20:10,23; and Dt 7:25,26; 12:31; 17:1; 18:9-12; 22:5; 23:18; 24:4; 25:16; 27:15. Humbert has argued that its absence elsewhere indicates that it is confined to a particular milieu. It may have been a usage in pre-exilic Israelite wisdom and so a borrowing of Deuteronomy from wisdom literature.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Since 10 of the 11 occurrences in the Book of Proverbs are in 10:1-22:16, which are thought to contain pre-Hezekian material, the wisdom influence upon Deuteronomy is clear.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The *אֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה* in Deuteronomy is everywhere connected to the cult of Yahweh; idol (7:25,26), temple prostitution (23:18), child sacrifice (12:31; 18:9-12), wearing clothes of opposite sex (22:5), blemished animal sacrifice (17:1), and sexual intercourse with former wife (24:4), whereas in Proverbs it is associated with moral and intellectual flaws; perversion (3:32; 11:20; 17:15), the deeds, thought, and the sacrifice of the wicked (15:8,9,26), lying and cheating (12:22; 11:1; 20:10,23).⁽⁸⁸⁾

A similar formula occurs in Amenemope in contexts akin to some

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84. U. Skladny, Die Ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel, 1962, p. 70; and also H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, 1966, p. 146.
85. U. Skladny, op. cit., p. 57, n. 2.
86. P. Humbert, "Le substantif to'ebā et le verbe t'b dans l'Ancien Testament", ZAW 72 (1960), pp. 224f.
87. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic School, pp. 244-282, esp. p. 260.
88. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, (OTL), p. 301.

of those in Proverbs, in these cases אָמַן אֶפְסָרִים is explicable as an Israelite variant of the Egyptian formula with the "international" content unaffected. In Amenemope, a lack of honesty and equivocation in speech are described as "the abomination of the god".⁽⁸⁹⁾ The use of אָמַן אֶפְסָרִים in Prov 12:22 with reference to lying lips is a striking parallel to Amenemope, and there are three other occurrences which are directly comparable (11:20; 15:26; 17:15). A direct literary relationship is assured between Deuteronomy and Proverbs in respect of this formula and the dependence is probably on the side of Deuteronomy.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The seeming indifference to the cult is not absolute. The wise refers to the cultic acts of sacrifice (15:8; 17:1; 21:3,27) and prayer (15:8,29; 21:27). Sacrifices and offering are alluded to in 7:14; 21:3. These and the presentation of first fruits to the Lord (3:9-10) to the cultic officials in the holy places are the evidence of "serious theological reflection by the wise concerning cultic participation in general and concerning what is or what is not acceptable cultic worship to Yahweh."⁽⁹¹⁾ The absence of references to the temple, the altar, priests, Levites, prophets, the festivals, and the Sabbath is in line with the cosmopolitan character of wisdom in Israel in the early period. The words "Israel" and "Judah" each occur only once in the historical notes (1:1; 25:1), and key terms, such as, "Jerusalem", "Moses", and "covenant" do not occur at all in the early wisdom books.

The seemingly secular character of early Israelite wisdom is,

89. Amenemope, xiii, 16; ANET, p. 423.

90. W. McKane, op. cit., p. 302.

91. L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, (SBL Diss. Ser. 30), 1977, p. 156.

as Eichrodt states,⁽⁹²⁾ only loosely connected with religious faith (or at least appears to be so), being primarily an analysis of human experience. It is concerned with order in the world in which man lives and with the appropriate norms of human conduct and character. If, however, this observation and analysis of the world and of human situations is corrected, either implicitly or explicitly with a belief in God as Creator, such wisdom teaching is not secular in a radical sense. Early wisdom is secular in the sense that it applies that it has discovered about life, but also it is religious in the sense that life is living as a creature in the order of creation.

As von Rad says, wisdom is a rational clarification and ordering of the world⁽⁹³⁾ and attempts to safeguard life.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Wisdom derives from man's total experience and provides him with insight. Wisdom examines the phenomenal world to discern its secrets,⁽⁹⁵⁾ the hidden order behind the multiplicity of phenomena created by God. The affirmation of this order and its meaning is made explicit in Prov 25: 2; "It is the glory of God to hide a thing." The glory of God is embodied in the hidden order. To discover something about this order reveals not only what has been hidden, but also the mind and purpose of God enfolded in the world-order. This ambivalence, that wisdom is acquired yet also given, is affirmed by Israelite wisdom tradition: experience and God, the horizontal and the vertical dimension. The dichotomy drawn between the religious and the profane is not applicable to the wisdom tradition. The Israelite felt that his experiential insight is no other than God-given wisdom.

92. W. Eichrodt, Theology of Old Testament II, tr. J. Baker, London, 1967, pp. 81ff.

93. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, p.425.

94. Ibid., p. 432.

95. Ibid., p. 422.

The role of wisdom in the biblical revelation has sometimes been neglected, because so much emphasis has been placed on history as the vehicle of revelation. This accounts for the somewhat awkward treatment of wisdom as an element in "Israel Before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)" in von Rad's OT Theology, with its strongly heilsgeschichtlich orientation.

3. The Israelization of Wisdom

It is clear that in the later phases of wisdom teaching, as represented for example by Ben Sira, elements of Israelite religious tradition are present, in particular the Heilsgeschichte and the Torah (Sir 24). The task of discovering what elements in the early phases of wisdom provided a basis for such a development is complicated by difficult problems concerning the composition of the Book of Proverbs and the dating and literary character of its several parts.

1) The Problem of Prov 1-9 : J. Schmidt argued that Prov 1-9 represents an advanced stage in the history of a process of formal development based on the wisdom sentence.⁽⁹⁶⁾ He identifies mashal with a single verse saying of which there are three variants; 1) one-limbed saying, 2) two-limbed saying, 3) multi-limbed saying. The OT wisdom literature (Spruchliteratur) has a few examples of the single-limbed verse, in which there are two forms: (a) a simple sentence consisting of subject, predicate, and object (e.g. Gen 22:14; I Sam 24:13/H 14/; Ezk 16:44), (b) and an extended form, which marks a stage of transition from a single-limbed saying to a two-limbed

96. J. Schmidt, Studien zur Stilistik der Alttestamentlichen Spruchliteratur, (Alttestamentliche Abhandlung 13,1), 1936, pp. 1ff; cited by W. McKane, Proverbs, 1970, p. 1.

saying. The two-limbed saying with parallelismus membrorum is a typical feature of the OT wisdom literature, and the expanded single-limbed saying is an indication that the older form of the mashal is the single-limbed verse.

J. Schmidt holds that the single-limbed verse is the older form (Urform) of the popular proverbs, and the two-limbed verse is the basic stylistic element (Stilform) of the literary mashal. The two basic reasons for its use in the OT are: firstly, that its poetic character does not derive from poetic literature but has emerged from popular wisdom, and secondly, that the mashal has a didactic function. The multi-limbed saying is compounded of a plurality of limbs, each of which is an independent grammatical entity, and may have arisen^w through association of similar content. So, according to J. Schmidt, the way in which the OT wisdom literature has developed formally is from the unit of one-verse to the unit which contains plurality.⁽⁹⁷⁾ The primitive form is a one-limbed, single-verse saying, expressing a generally valid and practically applicable wisdom, acquired through experience. Such one-limbed, single-verse sayings became two-limbed and multi-limbed through the association of similar content or by the addition of reasons or consequences, and thus grew into multi-verse sayings.

J. Schmidt basis his theory on Prov 1:1 that the book of Proverbs is made up of mashal and concludes that the basic form of all the material in the Book of Proverbs is the wisdom sentence.⁽⁹⁸⁾ But,

97. The OT wisdom literature is the result of striving to exceed the limits of a single-verse by working over their collection and productive units containing more than one verse by a running-together resulting in parallelism or without parallelism, or as subordinate clauses.

98. J. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 9f.

McKane proposes a different classification, maintaining that Prov 1-9; 22:17-24:11; 31:1-9 cannot be classified as meshalim in Schmidt's sense,⁽⁹⁹⁾ because they are not the product of the wisdom sentence but belong to the instruction genre.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ According to McKane, "the most important formal distinction between Instruction and the wisdom sentence is that the imperative is proper to the first and the indicative to the second. The Instruction commands and exhorts and gives reasons why its demands should be obeyed."⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The instruction is a direct address and its aim is to command and persuade, but the wisdom sentence, on the other hand, is an observation in an impersonal form and neither exhorts nor persuades. J. Schmidt holds that they are related and that the instruction was built up from the wisdom sentence, because the function of the wisdom sentence is to instruct and, therefore, it can accommodate the imperative as well as the indicative.⁽¹⁰²⁾ But, McKane disagrees with this and says that the two examples given by J. Schmidt to show how the two-limbed wisdom sentence becomes multi-limbed by subordination (23:5; 27:11) are not the formal evolution of the wisdom sentence as he supposes, but just the syntactical structure,⁽¹⁰³⁾ and, moreover, that 23:5 belongs to a section (22:17-23:11) which shows direct literary dependence on the instruction of Amenemope and which could not possibly have undergone on Israelite soil the process of formal evolution described by J. Schmidt.

J. Schmidt's presentation rests on the assumption that the wis-

99. W. McKane, Proverbs, (OTL), 1970, p. 3.

100. Ibid., p. 3 and 263f.

101. Ibid., p. 262f.

102. J. Schmidt, Studien zur Stilistik der Alttestamentlichen Spröchliteratur, 1936, pp. 29f and 42.

dom sentence is the basic element of form throughout, and that those parts of the book which have the most advanced grouping of wisdom sentences belong to the latest stage of formal evolution.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ As applied to Prov 1-9 in particular this argument is thought to demonstrate that since the section represents an advanced stage in the history of a process of formal development based on the wisdom sentence, it must be regarded for such formal reasons as the latest part of the book of Proverbs. About this there is now considerable unanimity as McKane notes.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ He asserts:

"The lateness of Prov 1-9 cannot be demonstrated by such a form-critical argument, because the instruction is a separate genre which is not constituted by an agglomeration of wisdom sentence. (106)

As to 22:17-23:11, whatever the precise character of the dependence of this passage on Amenemope, there is little doubt that an appropriation of formal elements of the Egyptian instruction is involved.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Recently W. Richter has contended that 22:17-23:11 is not formally dependent on Amenemope.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ He traces the imperative element in the instruction to the "school" through its scholastic form,⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ and postulates an Israelite admonition (Mahnspruch) originating from the prohibitive form of the so-called apodictic laws.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ But, to W.

103. W. McKane, op. cit., p. 4.

104. J. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 33.

105. O. Eissfeldt, The OT: An Introduction, 1965, pp. 472f; A. Bentzen, Introduction to the OT II, 1959, p. 172; A. Weiser, Introduction to the OT, 1961, p. 296; B. Gemser, Sprüche Salomos, (HAT 16), 1963, p. 5; H. Ringgren, Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Function in the Ancient Near East, Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1947, p. 9; R.B.Y. Scott, Proverbs/Ecclesiastes, (AB), 1965, p. 15.

106. W. McKane, op. cit., p. 5.

107. Ibid., p. 5.

108. W. Richter, Recht und Ethos: Versuch einer Ortung des weisheit-

McKane this argument does not carry much weight and is not received as convincing enough to overshadow the general conviction that the international instruction is the model of 22:17-24:22. McKane sees Richter's argument as an "attempt to broaden the field of enquiry, and to reduce the differing areas of literary activity to simple, common elements", which is not a sensible use of the form-critical method.⁽¹¹¹⁾

A direct comparison between 22:17-24:22 and the Egyptian instruction was made by Whybray⁽¹¹²⁾ in his treatment of Prov 1-9. While he indicated his disagreement with the form-critical argument for the lateness of Prov 1-9, he did not undertake an analysis of the formal structure of these chapters in relation to the Egyptian instruction. Whybray distinguishes two types of passages in Prov 1-9; those in which a wisdom teacher addresses his pupils and those in which a personified wisdom speaks.⁽¹¹³⁾ The first one consists of the ten originally independent discourses (1:8f; 3:1-4; 4:20-22; 5:1f), which have been preserved virtually in their original form. The original ten discourses he compares with Egyptian instruction and finds a greater similarity. His conclusion is that "there can be no doubt that the discourses in Prov 1-9 stand firmly in the tradition of international wisdom and are not derived from ... the Yahwistic tradition."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ He says correctly that the discourses reflect ancient Egyptian models and that the usage is old in Israel.

(continued) lichen Mahnspruches, (SANT 15), München: Kösel Verlag, 1966, pp. 36f.

109. Ibid., p. 147.

110. Ibid., p. 68.

111. W. McKane, Proverbs, p. 5.

112. R.N. Whybray, Wisdom in Proverbs: the Concept of Wisdom in Prov 1-9. (SBT 45), London, 1965.

Kayatz argues strongly for an early date of Prov 1-9 on the basis of similarity with Egyptian literature.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ She argues against those who have postulated a development from one-limbed proverbs to longer compositions; longer compositions are found in Egypt at an early date and are not developed from one-line proverbs, but are a different literary form. By form-critical analysis she lists certain procedures in the Egyptian instructions - and motive clauses - and finds the same procedures in Prov 1-9; "die Überwiegende Mehrzahl der in Proverbien 1-9 vorkommenden Formtypen hat ihr Vorbild in den Ägyptischen Weisheitslehren".⁽¹¹⁶⁾ She suggests that the prototype of the personified wisdom (1:20-33 and ch. 8) may be found in the speeches of the gods which constitute a literary genre in Egypt.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

The analysis of the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian instructions show that there was an international genre with definable characteristics which can be identified with the above mentioned section of Proverbs. Prov 1-9 has also the same formal structure as 22:17-24:11. The conclusion is, like that of McKane,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ that the formal structure of Prov 1-9; 22:17-24:22; 31:1-9 is that of an international instruction genre, and that it is not the consequence of a process of form-critical evolution involving the agglomeration of

113. R.N. Whybray, Wisdom in Proverbs: the Concept of Wisdom in Prov 1-9, p. 31.

114. Ibid., p. 37.

115. C.B. Kayatz, Studien zu Proverbien 1-9: eine form- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung unter Einbeziehung Ägyptischen Vergleichsmaterials, (WMANT 22), Neukirchen, 1966.

116. Ibid., p. 135.

117. Ibid., p. 76f.

118. W. McKane, Proverbs, (OTL), p. 7.

wisdom sentences. The logic of the form-critical argument for the lateness of Prov 1-9 collapses, and the instruction is a separate genre from the wisdom sentence. A variety of reasons have been given for placing the collection in the fifth century BC or later, but are not really persuasive.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

It is a reasonable assumption that the instruction was appropriated by Israel as early as the reign of Solomon, when a class of officials came into existence to serve the new structure of the state where there was a need for instruction with an educational function as there had been in Egypt.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Following Gemser's distinction between the Egyptian instruction, addressed to the specialized constituency of the élite who aspire to positions of responsibility and power in the state and the Israelite instruction which is a broadly-based instruction for the community,⁽¹²¹⁾ McKane does not regard Prov 1-9 as having this character of career advice for officials, but does support the view that the instruction which was in

119. חֹכְמָה אֶשְׁכַּח theme by Sellin and Ringgren: the antiquity of wisdom in ch. 8 with its mythological background by Sellin and Gemser; the union of wisdom and the fear of Yahweh by Baumgartner and Weiser; and the word חֹכְמָה (7:16, which is thought to be a Greek loan word *σοφία*). Sellin, Bentzen, Weiser, Koehler, and Baumgartner derive it from Egyptian (red-coloured linen), *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 2nd ed. (1958); BDB says that derivation is unknown; cited by W. McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n.11; G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 319; R.N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, p. 106; in the Persian period by M. Hengel and H.D. Preus prefer the period between ca. 330-250 BC, M. Hengel, *Hellenism and Judaism*, tr. J. Bowden, London: 1974, pp. 153 and 155; H. D. Preus, *Taschen Tutor II*, Göttingen, 1975, p. L 14, 1.

120. When Solomon created a civil service, perhaps on the Egyptian model, there would have been a demand for a similar type of school for such an instruction of vocational education; cf. P. Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israël*, 1947, pp. 63f; 107, 180f; also cited by W. McKane, *Proverbs*, (OTL), 1970, p.9; also *idem*, *Prophets and Wise Men*, (ABT 44), 1965, pp. 23f; S. Mowinckel, "Israelite Historiography", (ASTI 2), 1963, p.7.

121. cf. B. Gemser, *Die Sprüche Salomos*, (HAT 10), 1963, pp. 6f.

Egypt was integrated into the fabric of Yahwistic piety and became the instrument of its propagation.⁽¹²²⁾

The resemblances in style and vocabulary between Prov 1-9 and Deuteronomy were effectively demonstrated by Robert,⁽¹²³⁾ and point to the literary dependence of Prov 1-9 on Deuteronomy. The relation between Deuteronomy and Prov 1-9 has been debated, and M. Weinfeld has argued persuasively from the content of Deuteronomy that Deuteronomy is dependent on Prov 1-9.⁽¹²⁴⁾ McKane insists on seeing it the other way round.⁽¹²⁵⁾ However, McKane agrees with Whybray on the point that there is evidence of a Yahwistic reinterpretation in Prov 1-9, and that the vocabulary of wisdom is set in two different frameworks of reference; the one is an educational framework of old wisdom and the other is a framework of piety and moralism. In Prov 1-9 there is an unmistakable frame or atmosphere of religious commitment and its derivative morality, the fear of Yahweh.

2) The Distinctiveness of Israelite Wisdom : Now the question is in what lies the distinctiveness of Israelite wisdom. The religious character of Prov 10-30 and that of Prov 1-9 are so different that it seems reasonable to expect them to be apart in time; one person belonging to the period of the divided monarchy, which would fit in with McKane's view of the Yahwistic reinterpretation during the period between the United Monarchy and sceptical wisdom (Job and Koheleth).

122. W. McKane, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

123. A. Robert, "Les Attachés Littéraires Bibliques de Proverbes i - ix", *RB* 43 (1934), pp. 42-68 and pp. 172-204; *RB* 44 (1935), pp. 344-365 and pp. 502-525; cf. R.N. Whybray, Wisdom in Proverbs, p. 37.

124. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1972.

125. W. McKane, Proverbs, p. 280.

H. Gese wanted to see the following four features as typical of Israelite wisdom: 1) things happen as Yahweh wills, and not as man plans, 2) everything and all happenings come from God, and human deeds have no influence upon them (Prov 10:22; 1:33; 20:24a; 21:1,30f), 3) what seems good to man is not necessarily so for God, 4) God's deed is often imperceptible to man.⁽¹²⁶⁾ But, none of these goes beyond what Mesopotamian and Egyptian wisdom have achieved.⁽¹²⁷⁾

B. Gemser and J. Fichtner suggested⁽¹²⁸⁾ that we might consider monotheism as peculiar to Israel. Against this view, however, marked monotheistic tendencies can be found in Egypt and Mesopotamia also. H. Schmid concluded that the old wisdom of Israel did not go further than her neighbours in its theological exploration.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Prov 10-29 was not markedly Yahwistic, maybe because the Egyptian and Mesopotamian wisdom literatures were not closely related to the official religion.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Similarly, Israel's early wisdom was somewhat international in its nature.⁽¹³¹⁾

Then how did the wisdom scholar in Israel accept the Yahweh religion in his writing? This raises the problem of the Israelisation or the nationalisation of wisdom. Prov 1-9 functions as a prologue to the whole Book of Proverbs, where the author wants the wisdom to be understood in a way of his own. In contrast to 10-31, most of

126. H. Gese, Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit: Studien zu den Sprüchen Salomos und zu den Buche Hiob, Tübingen, 1958, pp. 45f.

127. H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, 1966, p. 147.

128. B. Gemser, op. cit., pp. 7f; J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit, 1933, p. 145.

129. H. Schmid, op. cit., p. 147.

130. Ibid., p. 148.

131. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, p. 427; G. Fohrer, "Tradition und Interpretation im AT", ZAW 73 (1961), p. 20.

Prov 1-9 is no longer short sayings but longer speeches which presuppose the Israelite environment.⁽¹³²⁾

The contents of Prov 1-9 1) are strongly reflective and theological with more elementary experiential wisdom, except 6:1-19, 2) seek to integrate wisdom with the faith of Yahweh, and 3) seek to relate wisdom to creation (3:21-33; 8:22-31; cf. Job 28 and 38). Prov 1:2-7 is an introduction within Prov 1-9, which itself is the introduction to the whole Book of Proverbs. In Prov 1:2-7 there occur several typical Israelite wisdom terms, such as, musar (instruction), m^ezimmah (resourcefulness), leḡah (learning, binah (perception)).

We now proceed to consider whether certain leading themes are distinctive of the Israelite wisdom tradition.

i) Wisdom in Creation ? : We do not know how early the Israelites related wisdom to the created order. It could have been quite early. An important aspect of Solomon's wisdom is about trees, cattle, birds, fish, etc. (I Kg 4:29-34/H 5:9-14/, cf. Prov 6:6-8; 30:24-31; Job 9:7-15; Is 28:23-28; Job 8:12-41; Sir 43:1-25). This kind of catalogue of objects in nature flourished in the Fertile Crescent. The Onomasticon of Amenemope has 600 names for things. This is one of the important points of connection between Egyptian and Israelite wisdom.⁽¹³³⁾ The preoccupation of the sages with creation may be linked with the creation story in Gen 1:1-2:4a and, in particular, with 1:28, where man is commanded to have dominion over creation: "to fill the earth and subdue it", and his exercise of this dominion is vividly portrayed

132. C.B. Kayatz, Studien zu Proverbien 1-9, (WMANT 22), 1966, and Burton Mack, "Wisdom, Myth and Mythology", Interpretation 24 (1970), pp. 46-60.

133. H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, p. 159.

It is perhaps significant in this connection that one of the aims of wisdom instruction is mastery of life and of man's environment.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Although the Priestly account of creation in Gen 1:1-2:4a represents the introduction to a great historical work, it contains "the results of concentrated theological and cosmological reflection."⁽¹³⁵⁾ It can be understood as a significant testimony to the early international scientific attempts to investigate the world by the systematic work of the school of priestly wisdom. Although it is probably dependent on early Semitic and above all Egyptian creation narratives,⁽¹³⁶⁾ the emphasis on the creative word has its own place in Israelite thought both in the prophetic literature and in other references to Yahweh's creative power (Ps 33:6,9).

The practical attribution of wisdom to Yahweh appeared probably much earlier than the time of Isaiah who proclaims that Yahweh is wise (Is 31:2), ("And yet he /the Lord/ is wise and brings disaster") Wisdom is power, because it is the way to success, as in Is 40:13; ("Who has directed the spirit of the Lord, or being his counsellor has taught him?"), or in Is 40:14 ("whom did he consult for his enlightenment, and who taught him the path of justice, and taught him knowledge, and showed him the way of understanding?"). Jeremiah testifies; "It is he who made the earth by his power, who established the world by his wisdom and by his understanding stretched out the heavens." (Jer 10:12), or "It is he who made the earth by his power, who established the world by his wisdom." (Jer 51:15). The Psalmist

134. W. Zimmerli, "The Place and Limit of the Wisdom in the Framework of the Old Testament Theology", SJT 17 (1964), pp. 146-158, esp. pp. 150ff.

135. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, p. 141.

136. Ibid., p. 143.

confesses "O Lord, how manifold are thy works. In wisdom hast thou made them" (Ps 104:24). The wisdom writers state "The Lord by wisdom has founded the earth" (Prov 3:19), or "Who has put wisdom in the inward parts or who has given understanding to the heart? Who can number the clouds in wisdom?" (Job 38:35ff).

ii) Personification and Pre-existence of Wisdom? : In Prov 1:20-33 wisdom was described as a sort of preacher. On the tope of the walls she calls out, and at the entrance of the city gates she utters her sayings (1:21; 8:3). She calls, reaches out her hand, and ^alaughs (1:24; 1:26). The picture of wisdom finding a stance in public and seeking to engage the attention of men may reflect the actual practice of the wisdom teacher in 1:21-22, but v. 23 may be an echo of the prophet, a charismatic spirit-filled person.⁽¹³⁷⁾ In Prov 8 personified wisdom is conceived as a wisdom teacher (8:14-16), and in some measure as a prophet (8:2-3). But in subsequent verses it is the teaching of a sage rather than the preaching of prophet which is apparent. The emphasis is still on the empirical evidence of wisdom's effectiveness. As McKane maintains, this chapter is still firmly anchored in the ethos of early wisdom.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Kayatz argues that the apparent diverse functions of the personified wisdom in Proverbs, such as, existence before the creation of the world, the lover and the beloved (8:17a), the giver of life and safety, which have been transferred to wisdom, particularly in 8:17a, but also elsewhere in Proverbs 1-9, can be explained in terms of Egyptian gods ... Ma'at.⁽¹³⁹⁾

Gemser held that 8:22-32 was derived from the Egyptian and Baby-

137. W. McKane, Proverbs, (OTL), p. 274; also idem, Prophets and Wise Men, (ABT 44), p. 110.

138. W. McKane, Proverbs, p. 343.

139. C.B. Kayatz, Studien zu Proverbien 1-9, (WMANT 22), pp. 102ff.

lonian hymns of creation.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ But, Ringgren prefers to think of it as having been derived from Canaanite models, because wisdom existed prior to this series of creative acts.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ McKane did the same on the basis that the life and death antithesis in Proverbs is fundamentally different from that in Egypt, so that the underlying mythology in Proverbs is Canaanite rather than Egyptian.⁽¹⁴²⁾

One should resist the idea that these earliest instances of Israelite "wisdom speculation" display Greek "influence", because in the Greek sphere "sophia" appears as a divine, personal entity only at a relatively late stage.⁽¹⁴³⁾ The manner, in which wisdom and folly are personified in Prov 1-9, probably betrays Greek influence, and the earlier Semitic parallels go back far into the pre-Hellenistic period. Theological reworking seems to have been directed towards poetic personification (Prov 1:20-33; 8:1ff). One can only with difficulty distinguish in all places between the words of the teacher of wisdom and the words of wisdom herself.

It is clear that wisdom is personified; she talks, offers revelation, counselling, appeals, and concerns. She gives out her call to counsel, insight, and strength (8:14), justice (8:15), wealth (8:18,21), and life (9:6). Closely connected with Prov 8:22ff is 9:1ff, where wisdom appears as a "royal hostess". Here the favourite^e of God becomes the teacher of men (9:4ff), and her appeal has almost the character of revelation (9:3). Clearly wisdom speaks in 1:22-33; 8:4-30 and the logion may be attributed either to wisdom or to

140. ANET, pp. 6f and 60f.

141. H. Ringgren, Word and Wisdom, 1947, pp. 99f.

142. W. McKane, Proverbs, p. 344.

143. see M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism II, tr. J. Bowden, London: SCM Press, 1974, p. 98, and I, p. 154.

"her maids" (9:5-6, esp. v. 3). But, the same gifts are offered by the teacher of wisdom in Prov 2-7. We have indeed in three passages (Prov 1:20-33; 8:1-21; 9:13-18) personified wisdom directly offering her gifts and pronouncing judgement on those who reject her invitation.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Thus far, however, we have seen no ground for the view that the personification of wisdom in Prov 1-9, and particularly in 8 is more than a literary device. We must now consider whether the apparent reference to the pre-existence of wisdom in 8:22-31 points to the hypostatization of wisdom.

Wisdom is created "at the beginning of God's work" as his first act (8:22), before the earth (8:23,26). It existed (8:27) beside God (8:30) when the heaven was created (8:27). Wisdom is described as "master workman" (RSV) or as the primal creation as having been present at the creation of the world and its ordering.

The interpretation of 8:22 ("The Lord created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of old") hinges mainly on the meaning of qanah. The most usual meaning of qanah is "acquire" "possess what has been acquired" (e.g. Gen 47:22 with real estate; Is 1:3 with animal). This is the meaning of all the other occurrences of the verb in Proverb (1:5; 4:5; 4:7; 15:22; 15:32; 16:16 twice; 17:16; 18:15; 20:14; 23:23). A less usual meaning is "create" (Dt 32:6; Ps 139:13; Gen 14:19,22?). The meaning "engender" or "give birth to" (Gen 4:1) has support from Ugaritic.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

The meaning "acquire" is advocated by de Boer as being in accord with the general sense of the following verses. The meaning "engender", "give birth to" may seem to be supported by the use of words

144. M.D. Johnson, "Reflection on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew's Christology", CBQ 36 (1974), p. 48.

with similar meanings in the immediate context (nissakhti, v. 23; holalti, v. 24); but Gemser has pointed out that the second of those is somewhat flexible in meaning and suggested that the first (repointed nesakkothi) may be taken in the general sense "to be made", "manufactured".⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

In spite of the prevalence of the meaning "acquire" elsewhere, the sense "create" seems most appropriate in the present context.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

The word 'amon in v. 30 may mean either "master workman", "craftsman" or "little child", "ward". The former has the support of versions such as LXX, Vulgate, Syriac, and Targum. The latter is supported by Aquila, Midrash Mishlê, the alleged birth terminology in vv. 24f, and the wisdom's playing like a child in God's presence in vv. 30f. As Scott observes, the word may be repointed 'omēn = (a) "guardian" or "teacher", (b) "binding", "uniting", or 'amēn = "true", "faithful".

The present writer accepts Scott's view that the author of this poem intended to mean "uniting" or "binding together".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

On balance it appears that the presentation of wisdom as existing before the creation of the cosmos and as being involved in the work of creation does not go beyond a very vivid literary personification and cannot fairly be interpreted as an instance of "hypostatization". However, there is a wide range of parallel ideas in ancient Near

145. See C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, 19, Glossary, No 2249.

146. B. Gemser, Sprüche Salomos, (HAT), p. 46.

147. See G.von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, pp. 151f.

148. R.B.Y. Scott, Proverbs / Ecclesiastes, (AB), 1965, p. 72; which is also found in idem, "Wisdom in Creation: the 'āmōn of Proverbs 8:30", VT 10 (1960), pp. 213-223.

Eastern literature. The Egyptian Urgott (Re, Amen-Re, Ptah)⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ and the Mesopotamian god, Enki (Akk, Ea) are also said to have created the world by wisdom.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Accordingly, the wisdom in creation cannot be said to be the distinctive aspect of the Israelite wisdom.

iii) The Fear of Yahweh : The term "fear of Yahweh" (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה) occurs 19 times in the wisdom literature (14=Prov, 5=Job), 7 in Psalms, and 5 in the rest of the OT. So, it is predominantly a wisdom term. The term "fearing Yahweh" (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה), the participial form, occurs 27 times in the Psalms, 11 in the wisdom literature (4=Prov, 3=Job, 4=Koh), 10 in the Deuteronomic writings (1=Dt, 1=Judg, 6=Kgs, 2=Jer), and 11 in the rest of the OT. Such expressions are fairly evenly distributed during the period between the fall of the Northern Kingdom and the post-exilic age, yet frequent in the Psalms. The phrase "to fear Yahweh" (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה), the verb form, occurs 18 times in Deuteronomy, 9 in the Deuteronomistic literature (3=Sam, 4=Kgs, and 2=Jer), 9 in the Psalms, 7 in the wisdom literature (2=Prov, 2=Job, 3=Koh), and 14 altogether in the rest of the OT.

As a whole, the fear of Yahweh, either in the form of "the fear of Yahweh", or "fearing Yahweh", or "to fear Yahweh", since they all refer to the proper attitude of the Israelite faith in Yahweh, occurs 14 times in the Tetrateuch (4=Gen, 6=Ex, 4=Lev), 39 in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic literature (Dt=19, 1=Judg, 4=Sam, 10=Kgs, 5=Jer), 43 in the Psalms, 35 in the wisdom literature (20=Prov, 8=Job, 7=Koh), 21 in the rest of the OT. This term is concentrated in Psalms (43 times), Proverbs (20), and Deuteronomy (19), which implies that the theme of the "fear of Yahweh" has been one of the main subjective

149. ANET, pp. 3-10.

150. H. Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, tr. J. Sturdy, London: SPCK, 1973, p. 8.

concerns among the psalm-writers and in the wisdom and Deuteronomic schools. Out of more than 58 occurrences of the verb, the comparatively large number of 21 are in the imperative form "fear Yahweh", predominantly occurring in Deuteronomy, and three times in the hortative form for an exhortation; "let us fear Yahweh".

We must understand this term in the wisdom literature in the sense of general morality and piety. Wisdom writers understand that man's secret actions and thought are constantly being exposed before the omniscience of God. They emphasized that the eyes of God are everywhere to detect secret sin (Prov 15:3; 5:21; Job 34:21; Ps 11:3; 94:9-10). The use in such terminology of the personal name of the God of Israel may be presumed to establish a link with the specifically Israelite religious tradition.

Deuteronomy states that God is to be feared (10:12,20; 13:4; 17:13; 19:20; 20:21; 31:12; cf. I Sam 12:24; II Kg 17:28,36,39). In Deuteronomy the Torah was already embodied in a some form of book and the fear of Yahweh is represented as the outcome of reading and studying the book (17:19). The Deuteronomic author urges that men should learn to fear Yahweh (4:10; 14:23; 17:19; 31:13), and bids that "the book of Torah shall not depart from your mouth and you should meditate it day and night" (Josh 1:8, cf. Ps 1:2).

Prov 1-9 affirms that the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom (Prov 9:10; cf. Ps 111:10). The phrase הַתְּחִלָּה יִירָא is translated "beginning" but may mean "best part". The term "fear of Yahweh" occurs 6 times in Prov 1-9 (1:7,29; 2:5; 3:7; 8:13a; 9:10) but it also occurs 9 times in Prov 10:1-22:16 (10:27; 14:2,26,27; 15:16,33; 19:23; 22:4; 23:17). It is related firstly to righteousness, secondly to avoiding evil, and thirdly to "wisdom", which has been with God and comes to men from God (Prov 1:7,20; 2:6,10,18,19; 7:4;

8:1,3,15,27,30).

I, therefore, conclude (a) that the emphasis on "fear of Yahweh", "to fear Yahweh" expresses a characteristically Israelite strain in the wisdom literature, and (b) that this terminology and the patterns of conduct and character which it indicates points to an important affinity between wisdom and Deuteronomic teaching.

B

WISDOM AND THE DEUTERONOMIC SCHOOL

1. The Nature of the Deuteronomic School

In the examination of Deuteronomic material which follows it is taken for granted that there is a close relationship between Deuteronomy (or at least the core of that book) and the Book of the Law discovered in the temple at Jerusalem, on which Josiah's reform was based (II Kg 22:1-23:25). It is, however, unnecessary to discuss the evidence for this, since the point at issue in the present discussion is the identity and nature of the circles from which the Deuteronomic material came.

The concern with the central sanctuary and with cultic purity has led some to suppose that priestly or levitical influence lies behind the work. Others find in it evidence of prophetic standards and of the prophetic protest against pagan corruption. Again, it has been suggested that Deuteronomic teaching represents a fusion of priestly and prophetic traditions and ideals. Among the many variations of such hypothesis which have been advanced in recent decades we may note the following.

- 1) Prophetic Origin : It is acknowledged that the prophetic

circle was the custodian of old traditions,⁽¹⁵¹⁾ and it has been suggested that there were prophetic groups in the north who came down to Judah after the fall of Northern Kingdom in 721 BC. This northern prophetic circle in the south might have made a conscious effort to integrate their own distinctive tradition into a programme of reformation.⁽¹⁵²⁾ It has maintained that Deuteronomy has a markedly prophetic flavour for which such a hypothesis provides a reasonable explanation. J. Bright speculates that Ahijah, who came from Shiloh (I Kg 14:2), might have represented a prophetic circle which was imbued with the old amphictyonic principle at the old tribal centre,⁽¹⁵³⁾ and Noth speculates that Ahijah's final break with Jeroboam I (I Kg 14:7-11) was because Ahijah approved a political break, designating Jeroboam I to be king of the break-away northern Israel, but not advocating cultic separation from Jerusalem.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

Nicholson postulates that the desire for reform and national independence lived on in the prophetic circle, and when Assyrian power finally crumbled in Josiah's reign, the northern prophetic circle in the south, seeing that the real possibility of revival of the Mosaic faith rested with the Judean power, and employing election terminology of Zion ideology, made a conscious effort to integrate

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151. For this see N.W. Porteous, "The Prophets and the Problem of Continuity", in: Israel's Prophetic Heritage, B.W. Anderson-W. Harrelson ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1962, pp. 11-25.
 152. E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, 1967, p. 100f; W.O.E. Oesterley, "The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy", in: From Moses to Qumran: Studies in the OT, London, 1963, pp. 195; G.E. Wright, Deuteronomy, (IB 2), 1953, p. 323.
 153. J. Bright, A History of Israel, 1972, pp. 234ff.
 154. M. Noth, "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition", in: Gesammelte Studien zum AT, (TB 6), München, 1960, pp. 172ff; also in: The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays, tr. D.R. Ap-Thomas, Edinburgh & London: 1967, pp. 132-144.

their own distinctive traditions into a programme of reformation.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

Against this widely held view, Lindblom argues that the prophetic circles did not have any share in the creation of the Book of Deuteronomy. He points out that (1) there is no single occurrence of the typical prophetic formula, like "Thus says the Lord", (2) no prophetic vision-speech, (3) no prophetic use of poetic diction, (4) no hinneh with prophetic tone, though hinneh occurs in 9:13,16; 13:15; 17:4; 19:18; 22:17; 26:10), (5) no mention of the day of Yahweh, and (6) the idea of centralization is at variance with the spirit of the pre-exilic prophets.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

2) Levitical Origin : Wolff suggests that Hosea's preaching has been influenced by Levites in Northern Israel who stood firmly within the tradition of the prophetic party of the north. Since, (so Wolff argues) the prophetic circle cannot seriously be considered as the bearers of cultic and sacral tradition, Hosea's marked concern with the true function of cultic worship could have come from such Levitical circles in the north, who according to I Kg 12:31f, were expelled by Jeroboam from Bethel and Dan,⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ and settled in Shechem.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Wolff suggests that the teaching of these Levitical circles eventually found expression in the Book of Deuteronomy. But, Nicholson rejects this view on the ground that, firstly, there is no hint of such a group of faithful Levites in Hosea's record, and it is inconceivable

155. E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, 1967, pp. 100f.

156. J. Lindblom, Erwägungen zur Herkunft der josianischen Tempelurkunde, Lund, CWK Gleerup, 1971, p. 71.

157. H.W. Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat", TLZ 81 (1956), pp. 81-94 = Gesammelte Studien, Munich, 1964, pp. 232-250, esp. p. 248.

158. Ibid., p. 249, n. 70.

that the prophet failed to leave some record of a Levitical circle, if he derived from them so much of his teaching.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Secondly, Jeroboam's expulsion of the Levites from Bethel in II Kg 17:23f is considered as improbable, because Elijah and Elisha had been closely associated with both, but never charged its priests as impostors, and Amos and Hosea accused its priesthood but never of being non-Levites.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Von Rad regards Deuteronomic teaching as the work of Judean country Levites,⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Contrary to the von Rad's theory, O. Bächli proposes a theory of Jerusalem Levites, because the Deuteronomistic presentation of a king as the central figure as the custodian and teacher of the law,⁽¹⁶²⁾ as the judicial head-judge,⁽¹⁶³⁾ as the ultimate authority in cultic matter,^{§ (164)} and as the centre of political and military power,⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ points to Jerusalem tradition. Bächli also noticed that the Sinai-Mosaic covenant tradition is anchored to the David-Jerusalem tradition, and such fusion clearly indicates its origin as Jerusalem, where both traditions were united in the person of a Davidic king.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

159. E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, p. 74.

160. Ibid., p. 75; S.A. Cook, "Age of Zerubbabel", in: Studies of the Old Testament Prophecy, 1957, p. 24.

161. G. von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, 1972, p. 175.

162. O. Bächli, Israel und die Völker: eine Studie zum Deuteronomium, Zürich, 1962, p. 187.

163. Ibid., p. 189.

164. David transposed the Ark, Solomon built the temple, Ahaz erects the Assyrian type altars, and officiate at the sacrifice (I Kg 16:10f), and Hezekiah abolished the local high places, his son Manasseh re-electes them (II Kg 18:4,22; 21:4).

165. O. Bächli, op. cit., p. 196f.

166. Ibid., pp. 203ff.

Lindblom distinguishes the Levites in Deuteronomy in four groups; (1) those scattered in Palestine and not linked to any shrine, (2) the priests at provincial high-places, (3) the priests at the Jerusalem temple, and (4) the descendants of Levi who earlier were cultically unattached and later joined the staff at Jerusalem and thus obtained priestly positions.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ He thinks that the fourth group, joined perhaps by Levites from the north, wrote the Josianic temple-document during the first decade of Manasseh's reign and hid it in the temple.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Lindblom bases his assertion on his careful examination of the text in Dt 10:8f; 17:8ff; 18:1ff; 19:16; 20:1ff; 21:1ff 24:8f, and claims that this grouping makes all the characteristics of Deuteronomy (the special interest in the Levites, the northern elements, the revival of the old Mosaic religion, the initiation of trust on the Jerusalem cultic authority, the apparent lack of influence from Zion-theology, the influence of wisdom, and the military tendency, to be best understood.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

2. Deuteronomy as the Work of Sapiential Scribes

1) Scribal Connection with Deuteronomy : In his extensive and detailed study, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School (Oxford, 1972), Weinfeld has made a strong case for the view that Deuteronomy originated in scribal circles during the period from Hezekiah to Josiah.

If we examine the superscription of the fifth section of Proverbs (25-29), Prov 25:1 gives us some idea of the scribal activity at the

167. J. Lindblom, Erwägungen zur Herkunft der josianischen Tempelurkunde, 1971, p. 44.

168. Ibid., p. 74.

169. Ibid., p. 55.

time of Hezekiah prior to the work of Deuteronomy. The text says, "These also are proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah copied", and nothing in the content of the collection makes this statement unlikely.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ As to the verb ִּרְאָוּ (to make pass on, or to transfer) Ginsberg takes this to mean the transferring of the literary works of northern Israel to Judah after the fall of Samaria.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ Scott claims that the prophecies of Isaiah testify to the emergence of the wise men as a distinct Israelite class during his period (Is 5:21; 29:14), in which Isaiah denounces various leading Israelites circles and assails leading Israelite spiritual circles (the prophets and the wise men) as Jeremiah did (Jer 18:18; 8:8-10).⁽¹⁷²⁾

J. Fichtner even suggests that Isaiah himself might have belonged to the class of the wise men.⁽¹⁷³⁾ It seems that the wise men do not appear as a class or profession before Hezekiah's period, and thereby Hezekiah may be considered historically as the patron of wisdom literature. The literary activities during the Hezekiah-Josianic period must have utilized both the religious and wisdom tradition.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ The extensive literary programme of compiling and resuscitating ancient traditions on a national scale is to be presupposed.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Scribes were setting down the ancient traditions in

170. G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, 1959, pp. 188f.

171. H.L. Ginsberg's private letter to M. Weinfeld; cf. Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 161, n.3.

172. R.B.Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom", in: Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, (SVT 3), 1955, p. 277.

173. J. Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen", TLZ 74 (1945), col. 75.

174. B. Gemser, Sprüche Salomos, (HAT²), p. 93.

175. H. Junker, "Die Entstehungszeit des Psalmen 78 und des Deuteronomium", Biblica 34 (1953), p. 496, n. 1.

in writing predominantly for didactic reasons. It could be the most marked period of general literary activity in the entire Ancient Near East.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Their activities were not confined to wisdom compositions, but also covered the sphere of religious literary compositions.

The major function of the scribes in the early period was an administrative and clerical one (II Sam 8:17; Ps 45:2; etc) but later their function became predominantly didactic. The kernel of the Deuteronomic law code may have been crystallized in the form of books by the scribes of the court during the time of Hezekiah, and in the official publication of books in the days of the most radical reforms by Josiah.

As Deuteronomy is characterized by such ideal national institutions as the monarchy, the judiciary, the priesthood, and prophecy in 16:18-18:22,⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ it may well be a scribal rather than Levitical or prophetic composition. The scribal attitude toward Monarchy was positive. The negative aspect of the law of the king in Deuteronomy is not directed towards the monarchy as much but against specific kings, among whom may be either Solomon or Ahab. The Deuteronomistic author arranges the historical traditions about Solomon in such a way as to emphasize the king's violation of the law of Dt 17: the multiplication of the wives (I Kg 11:1-3), silver and gold (I Kg 10:21,27), and the horse trade with Egypt (I Kg 10:26,28-29).

As to the relationship between Deuteronomy and the scribal activities in the period of the single monarchy, Weinfeld demonstrates

176. W.F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process, New York, 1957, pp. 314-319.

177. K. Gallinger notes that "Josia beschliesst die Erhebung des 'Buches des Lehre' zum Bundesbuch, d.h. zum Statsgesetz"; K. Gallinger, Die israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihres vorder-orientalischen Umwelt, 1929, pp. 57-58.

the scribal role in the crystallization of Deuteronomy on the basis of his exegesis of Jer 8:8; "How can you say we are wise and the Torah of Yahweh is with us? Behold the false pen of the scribes had made it into a lie".⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ Kaufmann and de Boer identified the scribes with the wise men.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ The scribes were the ministerial officers engaged in the composition of the Torah literature. The presenter of the discovered book, Shaphan was a scribe, and his family is thought to have carried out the literary elaboration of Deuteronomy. It is also argued that Shaphan's family is involved in the Deuteronomistic history writing,⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ with which Jeremiah was intimately acquainted. Also Shaphan's son, Ahikam, is said to have saved Jeremiah from near death (Jer 26:24; cf. II Kg 22:12,14).

The content of the struggle against idolatry, the centralization of the cult, the Exodus covenant tradition, monotheistic creed, the loyalty to the covenant by the observance of the Torah, the inheritance of the land, the material motivation and retribution, the fulfilment of prophecy, and the election of the Davidic dynasty, etc., which we find in Deuteronomy, are the central themes of the scribal school's activity in the court. Deuteronomy is not to be seen as a law book, but rather as a collection of materials for the public recital of the law to foster the didactic aim to elucidate the inherent religious moral force, which is very much similar to that of the early wisdom.

178. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, Oxford, 1972, p. 162.

179. Y. Kaufmann, History of Israelite Religion: the Religion of Israel from the Babylonian Captivity to the End of Prophecy, New York, 1977, p. 278; P.A.H. de Boer, "The Counsellor", (SVT 3), 1955, p. 61.

180. Surmised by A. Jepsen, Die Quellen des Königsbuches, Halle, 1953, 1956, pp. 94f.

Deuteronomy requires the king to read and observe the law all his days (17:18-19), and leaders to meditate upon it day and night (Josh 1:8; cf. Ps 1:2). Especially the Deuteronomic phrase "Be strong and resolute" (Dt 31:6,7,23; Josh 1:6,9,18; 10:25) in the context of the conquest is employed with respect to the general observance of the Torah. This made Mowinckel believe that the scribes were the Deuteronomic school. (181)

Baruch was a scribe and belonged to the learned, and Ahikam's son, Gedaliah, was the governor of Judah after 587 BC, to whom Jeremiah was introduced for his protection. Ahikam's brother, Gemariah, whose chamber was selected for the reading of Jeremiah's prophecies (Jer 36:10) interceded with the king not to burn the scroll (36:25), and whose son Micaiah made a quick witted action by informing the royal ministers of the nation ^{was} of the prophetic scroll (11-13), so that Jeremiah and Baruch might be able to escape royal arrest. The Deuteronomic school was closely connected to the redactors of the book of Jeremiah, and Shaphan's family was a leading exponent of this literary school (182)

Deuteronomy is an evaluation of and judgment on Israel's history in the guise of the Mosaic faith of Israel in the land of Canaan. Warnings and prohibitions may be the mirror of the bitter experiences of the evils of idolatry, and the promises and demands are largely the benefits of the settlement in Canaan. Deuteronomy represents an administrator's view of the story of salvation and the law of salvation.

As to the relation of Deuteronomy to the "P" strata, Y. Kaufmann

181. S. Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition, Oslo, 1946, p. 63; and see Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 159, n. 5.

182. See Weinfeld, op. cit., pp. 158ff.

is the best known figure who opposes the hypothesis of the dependency of "P" on Deuteronomy.⁽¹⁸³⁾ He claims that the Deuteronomic historiography shows traces of the "P" strata do not show any contact with the Deuteronomic school.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Though it has been widely held that the last verses of the Pentateuch are from the hand of the editor of "P", and that "P" followed Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Holiness Code in the history of Hebrew law, this cannot at present be determined with any certainty. "P" includes materials of varying antiquity which reflect the usage of many generations.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

The subject matter of the literature composed by the priests is essentially different from that of the scribes. The "P" code reflects the more ancient life of Israel, such as, the election of leaders by lots, the holy war using the trumpet and the horn, the regime of holiness and taboo, Sabbath and the new moon, ritual purification, abstention from sex before battle, ejection of lepers, prohibition of contact with the dead, the danger involved in approaching the sanctuary, and the sacrifices offered to the deity, etc. The Deuteronomic code is rather judicial, monarchical, military; that is, civil and criminal law of family, inheritance, loan and debt, litigation and quarrels, trespassing and false testimony. Priests, the bearers of important temple offices, had a comprehensive knowledge of ritual minutiae, and might have engaged in mundane literary activities. On the other hand, the scribes manifested their

183. The difference of sociological and ideological background is thought by him to have originated from different circles. Y. Kaufmann insists that they are not successive, but concurrent and the theory of literal dependency on the basis of significant linguistic links between the two literary corpora is not convincing; Y. Kaufmann, History of Israelite Religion, pp. 113f.

184. Ibid., pp. 113f.

185. G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the OT, p. 48.

extensive knowledge of state affairs, royal manners, and administrative and military matters. Their geographical and political knowledge demanded intensive specialization. The priestly materials are grounded in divine authority and religion, and their school focuses on the temple. The scribal materials are focussed on secular, political, and national affairs, and their school centred on the court. These schools represented theocentric and humanitarian approaches, although both schools are founded on religious faith. The doctrine of retribution is the Deuteronomistic rationale for the observance of Torah, and the eudaemonistic idea of long life, blessed off-spring, material affluence, and the concept of education is prominent in Deuteronomy. These have their roots in the wisdom teaching which embodied the humanistic thought of the Ancient Near East.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

2) The Sapiential Concern of Deuteronomy : Although some scholars argue for the vital contact between prophetic teaching and Deuteronomy,⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ weinfeld argues for the sapiential influence upon Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

In the story of Moses' appointment of administrative officers (Ex 18:21; Num 11:16f,30; Dt 1:13-17) Weinfeld detects a wisdom substratum in Deuteronomy regarding the personal quality of the leader and magistrates. The parallel story of Ex 18:21 draws the man of capacity, integrity, and faith (capable, fearing God, and trustworthy) and of Num 11:16f,30 "man of spirit" (charismatic), but Dt 1:13-17

186. O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, ch. 1 altogether.

187. S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, (ICC), 1902, p. xxvii; A. Alt, "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums", in: Kleine Schriften II, pp. 271ff; E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, pp. 66 and 106.

188. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, 1972, pp. 244-282.

gives "man of wisdom and intelligence" (אִישׁ חָכְמָה וְיָדָעַתָּה) (189)

Another commandment also reveals the same wisdom aspect; for example, the commandment to judicial leaders not to take any bribe, the reason given in Dt 16:19 is "for it blinds the wise", differing from that of Ex 23:8; "for it blinds those who have sight (אִישׁ רֹאֶה), denoting wisdom as the qualification for the judgeship. (190) The appointment of judges in Dt 1:9-18; 16:18-20 has also the same wisdom substratum. The phrase לֹא תִכָּזֵּב אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ (to respect persons, or to be partial) found in Prov 24:23; 28:21 is paralleled in Dt 1:17; 16:19, and is the same concept which is found in Egyptian literature. (191)

In the story of Solomon's request for wisdom to judge (I Kg 3:4-15), the principal theme is reminiscent of Dt 1:8-18 (לֹא תִכָּזֵּב אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ in 3:8,11,12-13 = II Kg 18:5; 23:25; 3:14). (192) Solomon's wisdom is conceived by the Deuteronomist as largely a judicial capacity, and the possession of wisdom as the principal requirement for the competent functioning of the judiciary. True wisdom is the intellectual capacity to distinguish between good and evil in the judicial sphere. (193) Truth, righteousness, and uprightness of heart in the Deuteronomic strand (I Kg 3:5-14; 8:14,61; 9:3-9) do not signify charisma. Weinfeld claims that the pre-Deuteronomic version of the dream of Solomon (194) was similar to a tradition about temple construction found in the

189. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 245.

190. Ibid., p. 245.

191. The Vizier of Egypt, ANET, p. 213, A:37f; B:12f.

192. M. Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 246.

193. Ibid., p. 247.

194. Solomon's dream at Gibeon is the medium for the promise of judicial wisdom.

ancient Near East,⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ but was employed by the Deuteronomist in a judicial and moral sense, which reflected aspects of the wisdom tradition in Israel.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ According to Weinfeld the pre-Deuteronomic concept of wisdom, such as, native shrewdness (II Sam 13:3; I Kg 2:9), persuasive speech (II Sam 14:2; 20:16), artistic skills and craftsmanship (= *ṭēxv*) Gen 41:8,33,39; Ex 7:11; 28:3; 31:6; 35:25,26; 36:1) or general knowledge (II Sam 14:20) can be seen in the pre-Deuteronomic tradition of Solomon,⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ who possessed characteristics of cunning (I Kg 2:5-9; 3:16-27), extraordinary knowledge of natural phenomena (5:9-14),⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ and highly skilled artisan (10:4).⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Weinfeld claims that the pre-Deuteronomic picture of Solomon is modified by the Deuteronomic concept of wisdom, and formed a new image of Solomon, in which Solomon proved himself worthy of being king over all Israel by displaying judicial wisdom (3:28) with his prodigious knowledge which astounded all the world (5:14; 10:11,23-24). This is exemplified by the tradition in I Kg 3:5-14 (Solomon's amazing knowledge before the queen of Sheba). R.B.Y. Scott judged 5:9-14 and 10:1-10 to be a post-Deuteronomic accretions,⁽²⁰⁰⁾ but Alt and Weinfeld acknowledged that it was of greater antiquity than Deu-

195. Gudea, ensi of Lagash had a dream before constructing Ningirshu's temple, G.A. Barton, Royal Inscription, (A. 1:17-21); cf. A. L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, 1956; cited by M. Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 247, n. 3.

196. M. Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 247f.

197. Ibid., p. 254.

198. A. Alt, "Die Weisheit Salomos", in: Kleine Schriften II, pp. 90-99.

199. I.J. Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings, (ICC), 1951, p. 216.

200. R.B.Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginning of Wisdom in Israel", in: Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 262ff.

teronomy.⁽²⁰¹⁾

Scott claims that the sapiential class first became prominent during Hezekiah's reign, and that the sapiential image of Solomon was created during Hezekiah's time.⁽²⁰²⁾ Weinfeld, however, took the time of Hezekiah as the turning point in the development of the Israelite conception of wisdom, and saw it as the period of the resurgence of intellectual literary activity.⁽²⁰³⁾ The old concept of wisdom took on a new meaning in accord with the new temper of the times. The wisdom of Deuteronomy no longer meant cunning, pragmatic talent, and extraordinary knowledge, but was synonymous with the knowledge of proper behaviour and with morality. Weinfeld claims that the seventh century BC scribes (1) had the narrative of Solomon as a cunning and shrewd king (3:17; cf. 2:9) inserted into the context of Solomon's judicial wisdom (3:5-28), which altered the character of the episodes, (2) ascribed all the previous Lebensweisheit proverbs which they had collected to Solomon, (3) reshaped the concept of wisdom in a judicial sense to mean knowledge of good and evil, (4) and amalgamated two disciplines; the Torah which dealt with the sacred sphere and the wisdom with secular. Therefore, for Weinfeld, the Deuteronomist of Hezekiah's time regarded Solomon's judicial perspicacity as the major component of his wisdom (I Kg 3:12). The Deuteronomist formulated an image of Solomon which has overshadowed the previous conception of the wisdom of Solomon as pragmatic wisdom and prodigious knowledge (I Kg 5:9-14; 10:1-9, 23-24), native shrewdness, acumen, and successful machination (I Kg 3:16-29).⁽²⁰⁴⁾ The old tradition of Solomon's pragmatic success and

201. A. Alt, "Die Weisheit Salomos", pp. 161ff; M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 255.

202. R.B.Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginning of Wisdom in Israel", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 263ff.

prodigious knowledge was seen in terms of the divine reward bestowed upon him for his love of wisdom.

This theory of Weinfeld has three weaknesses: firstly, the divine reward upon Solomon's love for wisdom was not judicial wisdom as Weinfeld thinks, but was long life (I Kg 3:13-14), wealth and splendor^{or} (I Kg 10), and universal fame (I Kg 9-14), which is well in accord with the old wisdom mentality (Prov 3:16, etc.). Therefore, nothing needs to be ^ascribed to the new Deuteronomic concept of wisdom. Secondly, Weinfeld thinks that before its fusing with wisdom, the Torah had existed as a separate and autonomous discipline which dealt with the sacred sphere and which had no relationship with the judicial wisdom. This does not reflect the fact that the Torah had secular aspects before Deuteronomy, such as, the instruction of parents and sages. Thirdly, Weinfeld has attributed too many accomplishments (the combination of Lebensweisheit with judicial wisdom, the collection of all the proverbial maxims, ascribing them to Solomon, the ethicalization of proverbs from the "wise-fool" to the "good-evil" antithesis, and the combination of two disciplines of sacred Torah and the secular wisdom. Nevertheless, the time of Hezekiah must have been the second most momentous period in the history of Israel's wisdom tradition.

3) The Stylistic and Thematic Parallels : Several scholars have called attention to the almost literal parallels between the Book of Deuteronomy and Israelite and non-Israelite wisdom literature. (205)

203. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 255.

204. cf. Ibid., p. 255f.

205. A. Robert, "Les attaches littéraires bibliques de Prov i-ix", RB 43 (1934), pp. 42-68; pp. 374-384; RB 44 (1935), pp. 344-365; pp. 502-525; W.O.E. Oesterley, The Wisdom of Egypt and the OT, 1927, pp. 76f; R.H. Pfeiffer, "Edomite Wisdom", ZAW 44 (1926), pp. 17ff, n. 3; J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische

It was their understanding that biblical wisdom literature was influenced by Deuteronomy. Recent studies have taken another course and accept the presupposition that Israelite wisdom teaching antedates the Book of Deuteronomy.⁽²⁰⁶⁾ Parallels to Deuteronomy are found not only in Israelite wisdom literature but also in extra-biblical literature. The influence of Deuteronomy on Babylonian and Egyptian wisdom literature is less plausible than the reverse influence. If there was an impact of Deuteronomic thinking upon wisdom literature we should expect to find the Deuteronomic concept of a national religion in the wisdom literature.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

The principal stylistic parallel between Deuteronomy and wisdom literature is the prohibition against any addition or deletion; "not to add nor to take off" (Dt 4:2=Prov 30:5-6, also Dt 3:1=Koh 3:14), which is a distinctly sapiential ideological concept and clearly shows that the author of Deuteronomy had adopted the phrase from sapiential sources.

The prohibitions against removing a neighbour's landmark, and against using false weights and measures are the themes of a great

(continued) Weisheit, 1933, pp. 26-27; cf. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 260.

206. W. Baumgartner, Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit, 1933; W.F. Albright, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 1-15; J. Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen", TLZ 74 (1945), pp. 78-80; J. Lindblom, "Wisdom in the Old Testament Prophets", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 192-204; R.T. Anderson, "Was Isaiah a Scribe?" JBL 79 (1960), p. 57ff; R.B.Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginning of Wisdom in Israel", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 262-279; S. Terrien, "Amos and Wisdom", in: Israel's Prophetic Heritage, B.W. Anderson-W. Harrelson ed., 1962, pp. 108-115; H.W. Wolff, Amos geistige Heimat, 1964; J.L. Crenshaw, "The Influence of the Wise upon Amos", ZAW 79 (1967), pp. 42-51; J.W. Whedbee, Isaiah and Wisdom, Nashville, 1971, in language in ch. 1, in literary forms in ch. 2-3; M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, 1972, p. 260; Joseph Jensen, The Use of Torah by Isaiah, (CBQ monog. series 3), 1973, pp. 45-53.

many exhortations in Israelite and non-Israelite wisdom literatures. (208)

Sapiential morality attempts to achieve its ends by persuasion and preaching. Now the same aim has become embodied in the Deuteronomic legislation. The sapiential exhortation has produced a general consensus of opinion, which subsequently has taken shape in a form of national instruction. The Deuteronomic form of instruction has a developed formula, although it still is expressed in a sapiential form. Therefore, the Deuteronomic interdiction against the falsification of weights and measures (Dt 19:14=Prov 22:28 and Dt 25:13-16=Prov 20:23) is also one of the classic interdictions against the deception and hypocrisy of older wisdom.

The Proverbs' condemnations are against non-straight-forwardness, false scales, crooked heart, lying, the wicked's sacrifice, act, and thought, the proud, acquitting the evil and condemning the good, double-standard in measures, etc, but the Deuteronomic abominations are miscellaneous moral, religious, and cultic against cheating the scale, sexual relationship with a divorced wife, wearing the clothes of the opposite sex, against idol worship, blemished sacrifice, child-sacrifice, sacral prostitution, etc.

The subject matter of Deuteronomic law on vows has a distinctly sapiential character, and shows its dependence upon wisdom teaching. Von Rad says that this vow prescription is out of place in the legal code and that it is more suitable to a sapiential homiletic context. (209)

This is where we must see the work of the Deuteronomist. Like the wisdom sayings, "Be not rash with your mouth, nor ... be hasty to utter a word before God... it is better that you should not vow" (Koh 5:2-6; Prov 20:25), Dt 23:22-24 warns against verbal commitment.

207. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 260.

208. J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit, pp. 26-27.

The sapiential rationale, "for he (God) has no pleasure in fools" (Koh 5:4) was reshaped into a religious and legal rationale; "for the Lord your God will surely require it of you, and it would be sin in you" (Dt 23:21). The sapiential prescription, "to bring misfortune upon yourself" is also shifted to a religious and legal one; "... is a sin" (Dt 15:9; 24:15). The sapiential exhortation has been revised in a religious spirit.⁽²¹⁰⁾ From this comparison, we may notice that the phrases of the Proverbs have a shorter form and that they, thereby, may well antedate the longer form of Deuteronomic exhortation. Weinfeld says that the pursuit of justice in the Book of Deuteronomy (Dt 16:20) is also an intrinsic idea of biblical wisdom (Prov 11:19; 12:28; 11:4; 16:31; 10:2), and is a clear parallel between Deuteronomy and wisdom literature. Proverbs is the more natural and original context of the thought of Deuteronomy.

4) The Parallel Concern with Pedagogy : It has been a well known fact that Deuteronomy has a strong didactic temper (6:2,7,20-25; 11:9-10; 11:19; 31:10-13). The concern for education and pedagogy may be seen even in the legal section (13:12; 19:20; cf. 17:3; 21:21).⁽²¹¹⁾ This phenomenon greatly resembles the wisdom literature. Weinfeld noticed that there is a didactic tendency in the treaties of the Ancient Near East.⁽²¹²⁾ Deuteronomic and Babylonian covenants followed the treaty model in order to strengthen the loyalty to the covenant.

The "fear of Yahweh" as the content of education in sapiential teaching occurs 14 times in Proverbs,⁽²¹³⁾ 7 in Psalms,⁽²¹⁴⁾ 5 in Job,⁽²¹⁵⁾

209. G.von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), tr. D. Barton, 1966, p. 148.

210. Here Weinfeld assumes that early sapiential wisdom has not a religious character; M. Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 27f, but it is not necessarily the case.

but occurs only a few times in the rest of the OT. Ps 34:12-13, "Come, O sons, listen to me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord... that he may enjoy good." is reflected in the Deuteronomic phrase, "the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes to fear the Lord... that he might preserve us alive" (Dt 6:24; 2:25; 11:25; 28:67). Weinfeld sees the sapiential "fear of Yahweh" as a general aspect of morality which was reshaped into a covenantal obligation.⁽²¹⁶⁾ The motive remains approximately the same. The most striking parallels are; "my son, keep your father's commandments and forsake not your mother's teaching. Bind them (וְקָשַׁתָּם = וְקָשַׁתָּם Dt 6:8) upon your heart (עַל-לִבְּךָ = עַל-לִבְּךָ Dt 6:7) always, tie them about your neck when you walk (וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן = וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן Dt 6:7), they will lead you, when you lie down (וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן = וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן Dt 6:8), they will watch over you and when you awake (וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן = וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן , "when you arise" (Dt 6:8) "they will talk to you" (Prov 6:20-22). "Bind them (Prov 7:3, וְקָשַׁתָּם = וְקָשַׁתָּם Dt 6:8) on your finger ("upon your heart" in Dt), write them (Prov 7:3 וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן = וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן Dt 6:9; 11:20) on the tablets of your heart". "Happy is the man ... waiting beside the posts of my door" (Prov 8:34 וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן = וְהָיוּ לְךָ כִּמְתָן Dt 6:9).

211. Y. Kaufmann, History of Israelite Religion, p. 53.

212. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 298.

213. 1:7,29; 2:5; 3:7; 8:13; 9:10; 10:27; 14:26; 15:16,33; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4; 23:17.

214. 2:11; 5:7; 19:9; 34:11; 90:1; 111:10; 119:98.

215. 4:6; 6:14; 15:4; 28:28.

216. M. Weinfeld, op. cit., p. 299.

The term למד (to teach) does not occur in the Pentateuch except in Deuteronomy.⁽²¹⁷⁾ The synonymous verb סָפַר (discipline, Prov 19:18; 29:17; 13:1 etc) and its derivative סִפּוּר is used in Dt 4:36; 8:5; 11:2; 21:18; 22:18; 8:5. The term קָשַׁר (bind) and כָּתַב (write) are also sapiential terms (Prov 3:3; 6:21; 7:3).

Weinfeld pointed out that the teacher-student relationship in Proverbs is parallel to the father-son relationship in Deuteronomy.⁽²¹⁸⁾ The didactic tendency of Deuteronomy can also be seen in its constant emphasis on the educational role of the father and mother (Prov 1:8; 6:20; 10:1; 15:20; 19:26; 23:22-25; 30:17=Dt 21:18-21; 22:15).

Deuteronomy has also a stock of wisdom expressions, such as, לִבְיָיִן (to lead astray; Dt 4:19; 13:6,11; 30:17=Prov 7:21), לִבְיָיִן (to be lured; Dt 11:16=Job 31:9,27), לִבְיָיִן (to turn away the heart, Dt 27:17; 30:17), לִבְיָיִן (to turn away the heart), לִבְיָיִן (to incline the heart, I Kg 8:58; 11:2,3,4,9=Prov 2:2; 21:1), לִבְיָיִן (obstinacy of heart), לִבְיָיִן (evil of heart), לִבְיָיִן (to harden the heart), לִבְיָיִן (straightness of heart), or לִבְיָיִן (haughtiness of heart), etc.

5) The Parallel Humantarian Concern : The wisdom literature of both Israel and Egypt has an inherent interest in humanity. The Assyrian-Babylonian books of Ahikar have a story of benevolence and ingratitude known to the Elephantine Jews in Egypt, and preserved in an Aramaic version.⁽²¹⁹⁾ Proverbs is a document of Israelite huma-

217. 10 times in Deuteronomy, 11 in Deuteronomistic writings, 17 in Psalms, and 8 in the rest of the OT.

218. cf. Dt 6:6-9; 11:18-20 with Prov 6:20-22; 7:3; 8:34, on which see M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, p. 299.

219. Bruno Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien II, 1920, p. 430; cf. O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, p. 4.

nism in a sense of a concern with man's welfare and moral responsibility. God is conceived of as the Creator of man (Prov 14:31, etc) The section of the early wisdom (Prov 10:1-22:16) holds God, the Creator, as the basis for charity: "He who mocks the poor insults his Maker, he who is glad at calamity will not go unpunished." (Prov 17:5). Proverbs as a whole implies or asserts belief in God as Creator, and takes it as a basis for charity to enforce the obligation of a man towards his fellow men (Prov 31:13,15; 4:6; 7:30). Rankin asserts that the combination of the love of God (Dt 6:5) and the love of man (Lev 19:18) has its roots in the early wisdom teaching,⁽²²⁰⁾ and the prophetic teaching on the social aspect of this humanistic concern was inspired and nurtured by Israelite wisdom writers who are believed to have composed maxims and ethical instructions from the time of Solomon.⁽²²¹⁾ Erman also observed in the same way that prophetic polemic was the fruit of the religious rationalism of the wisdom schools (Prov 15:8; 21:3,27).⁽²²²⁾ Therefore, we may assume that humanism was not exclusively an aspect of prophecy originated from the early Israelite social ethics.

The slave law of the Covenant Code (Ex 21:2-11) commands the freeing of slaves after six years of service, although maidservants are not entitled to manumission. The Deuteronomic Code (Dt 15:12-18) commands that slaves should return to normal life, whether male and female and that they should be given gifts. Deuteronomy calls slaves עֲבָדִים in v. 12. According to Weinfeld the Deuteronomic

220. O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, p. 13.

221. Ibid., p. 14.

222. A. Erman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians, tr. A.M. Blackman, 1928, p. 109.

mark of tradition is the transition from a narrow casuistic and statutory law corpus to a humanistic law code. It lacks almost all the law of civil damage of the Covenant Code, such as, the protection of property, compensation for injury, damage, theft, and custody, which are not a Deuteronomic concern. The purpose of Deuteronomy is not to produce a civil law code like the book of the Covenant, but to protect the individual and particularly needy persons.⁽²²³⁾

Compared to their counterparts in the book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic socio-moral law demands the return not only of strayed animals (Ex 23:4) but also all types of lost articles (Dt 22:3), not only not keep the debtor's garment overnight (Ex 22:25-26) but also not to select another surety instead (Dt 24:6,19). It even forbids the lender to enter the debtor's house to collect it (Dt 24:11), not only not to eat what has been torn by beasts but suggests to give it to the indigent resident alien (Dt 14:21) instead of giving it to the dog (Ex 22:30), and not only forbids selling undesirable maid-servants (the captive woman in Deuteronomy) to a foreigner, but also to set them free after six years of service (Dt 21:14).

According to Weinfeld, even in the cultic regulations Deuteronomy gives the impression that the primary purpose of the festival at the chosen place is to provide nutriment for the miserable;⁽²²⁴⁾ "Tithe... and firstlings... (to) the place... which the Lord your God chooses... and the Levite, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow, who are within your towns, shall come and eat and be filled." (Dt 14:22-29). The festal pilgrimages and their joyful celebrations seem to

223. Weinfeld compares the family law of Dt 22:13ff and Ex 12:15f, and sees that the book of Covenant is concerned to protect the financial interest of the virgin's father, while Deuteronomy is concerned for the daughter; M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 285.

224. Ibid., p. 290.

be designed almost exclusively for the benefit of the poor (16:11,14); "remember that you were a slave in Egypt" (16:2). The law of the Sabbatical year for maid-servants, the right of an unloved woman's son to inherit (Dt 21:15-17), protection of a wife's honour and reputation in the law of conjugal slander (22:13-19) represent other humanistic orientations of the Deuteronomic code.⁽²²⁵⁾

S.R. Driver thinks that this unique Deuteronomic humanism originated from the prophetic writings,⁽²²⁶⁾ and R.H. Pfeiffer thinks that it comes from the priests upon whom the prophetic school had a strong impact.⁽²²⁷⁾ Oesterley says that Deuteronomy originated in the prophetic writings and was ultimately transmitted to colleague sapiential scribes.⁽²²⁸⁾ Other scholars prefer to see Deuteronomy as the literary product of the prophetic spirit. As Kaufmann has pointed out, the fundamental differences of the prophetic writings from the Pentateuch are the primacy of morality over cult. Despite Deuteronomy's pronounced moral character, the Deuteronomic threat of exile is not to those who disobey the moral law but to those practice idolatry (Dt 4:4:25f; 6:14-15; 8:19-20; 11:16-17), and the eschatological idea which is at the heart of the prophetic school is not in Deuteronomy, but simply the restoration of Israel in due time (Dt 4:30; 30:1-5).⁽²²⁹⁾

225. Consideration for woman's intimate feelings, "shall gladden wife" in 24:5, woman's participation in the covenant ceremonies in Dt 29:10,17 is different from that of Ex 19:15.

226. S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, (ICC), p. 26; similarly E.W. Nicholson syncretism and apostasy; E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, p. 69ff.

227. R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, New York, 1952, p. 180.

228. W.O.E. Oesterley, "Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament, in the Light of Newly Discovered Teaching of Amenope", ZAW 45 (1927), pp. 9-24.

The humanitarian aspect of Deuteronomy must have its source in the school of wisdom. Kaufmann sees Deuteronomy as a synthesis of law and sapiential thought.⁽²³⁰⁾ Though the primacy of morality over the cult is found both in Proverbs and prophetic writings, it is also prevalent in the extra-biblical wisdom literature.⁽²³¹⁾ The social aspect of prophetic teaching is thought to derive from sapiential thought.⁽²³²⁾ Most scholars concede now that Israelite wisdom dates back to early antiquity, and that the wisdom school of Israel is much older than the prophetic school.

Deuteronomy took its material directly from, or was directly influenced by, the sapiential school, and not the prophetic school.⁽²³³⁾

6) The Parallel Idea of Retribution : The main aspect of Deuteronomic theology is the doctrine of reward and retribution. Dt 28 in the main holds to a bold appreciation of the working of the law of retribution which agrees with the religious outlook of the oldest collection of Hebrew maxims (Prov 10:1-22:26 and 25-29). Righteousness is seen in terms of material reward, and wickedness in the light of material loss and penalty, which is the ethos of early wisdom. Deuteronomy adopted this conception as its religious hermeneutic principle and applied it to the Israelite history. Deuteronomy surveyed the past from the view-point of the religious philosophy in which the obedience to the covenant obligation was blessed with prosperity and victory, and penalized by disobedience with defeat, fai-

229. Y. Kaufmann, History of Israelite Religion, p. 249.

230. Ibid., p. 293.

231. ANET, p. 417; II, p. 128 of the Instruction for Merikere.

232. Y. Kaufmann, op. cit., pp. 643-645.

233. M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, p. 294.

lure of crops, and disease. Deuteronomy applied the age-old concept of reward and retribution of proverbial wisdom to Israelite history. The Deuteronomistic redactor applied this rigid correspondence of sin and suffering as his religious interpretative principle to the historical records of Israel. The Deuteronomic school must have had in their hand the early Hebrew maxim writing, and have taken the ethical instruction with its individual outlook, and applied it to law and history in a collective sense, to produce a national form of instruction. The highly individualistic ethical instruction was reshaped by the Deuteronomic school into a law of community, and the old historical records and Hebrew legal codes were interpreted by the ethical principle of wisdom and the ⁵Mosaic principle of faith in Yahweh.

The religious individualism and the idea of individual retribution merged into a religious nationalism. The early wisdom teaching is dominated by the idea of retribution, so too the core of Deuteronomy is the concept of national reward, which was used to induce the nation to observe its teaching. The Deuteronomic concept of life is the same as that of wisdom literature, that is, the material benefits, such as, good life, longevity, large family, prosperity, joy, and possession of land, etc. The full life (happiness) is promised for observance of specific laws (16:20; 22:7; 25:15) and the observance of the Torah in general (4:1,40; 6:24; 8:1; 11:9; 30:6,15-20; 32:47). Obedience to Deuteronomic law was meant to bring life to the nation (30:20 וְאֵרַךְ חַיִּים לְעַמּוּנָה ; Prov 4:13 כִּי הוּא חַיִּים), as an exhortation to choose life and reject death (30:15,19). In Prov 8:35-36 we find, "He who finds me will have life and he who hates me death".

The idea of the written Torah as Israel's guide is a dominant theme in Deuteronomy, which also suggests that Deuteronomy was under strong influence from wisdom literature. The main difference between the Deuteronomic concept of "fear of Yahweh" and wisdom concept of it is that the former is nationalistic while the latter is individualistic. The fear of God in Deuteronomy is a constant awareness of God and not to forget the Lord (6:12; 8:11,14,19). The cause of forgetfulness for Deuteronomy is pride and arrogance from wealth, satisfaction, and affluence (6:10-11; 8:12-13; 17:16-20; cf. 31:20; 32:13-15), which correspond to Prov 30:8-9; Job 21:7-15; 22:17-18; Ps 73:7-11; 81:11-17; Hos 13:6; and Jer 5:27b-28.

7) Hezekiah, the Champion of Wisdom : If the above discussion suffices to demonstrate the dependence of Deuteronomy on early wisdom teaching, we may now consider briefly the most likely date for the emergence of the Deuteronomic movement and teaching.

In his recent book R. Mosis has suggested that the Chronicler adopted the reigns of Saul (I Ch 10), David (I Ch 11-29), and Solomon (II Ch 1-9) as the paradigms of three possible situations in which the Israel of later periods might find herself.⁽²³⁴⁾ Since the period of Solomon is thought to have been portrayed by the Chronicler as one of final blessing, for the return of which later Israel can only hope in faith, it follows that the subsequent kings of Israel are patterned only on Saul or David. In his analysis of Hezekiah he said "wie Ahas als ein ^Wweiter Saul erscheint, stellt der Chr. in Hiskija einen zweiten David dar".⁽²³⁵⁾

234. R. Mosis, Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Chronistischen Geschichtswerks, Freiburger Theologische Studien 92), 1973, p. 168; cf. H.G.M. Williamson, Israel in the Books of Chronicles, London, 1977, p. 119.

235. H.G.M. Williamson, op. cit., p. 189. This view is based on three facts; 1) II Ch 29:2 says that "Hezekiah did that which

But, there are other reasons for seeing Hezekiah as a second Solomon rather than a second David. Firstly, II Ch 30:26 testifies that at the celebration of the Passover under Hezekiah "there was great joy in Jerusalem, for since the time of Solomon...there was not the like in Jerusalem".

Secondly, a distinctive feature of Hezekiah's celebration of Passover, as of the dedication of the temple in Solomon's day, was its duration for a full two weeks rather than one; "and the whole congregation took counsel to keep other seven days; and they kept other seven days with gladness" (30:23; cf. 7:8-9). As Myers says "Hezekiah appears like a second Solomon, who celebrated two weeks when the temple was dedicated".⁽²³⁶⁾

Thirdly, the Chronicler's account on Hezekiah's effort and substantial success in inviting the northerners to participate in the feast (30:5,25) could mean that it was as a return to the days of Solomon when all Israel was united in the worship at the temple (7:9).⁽²³⁷⁾

Fourthly, for the first time since Solomon's reign there was unity in the matter of the date of Passover. After the division of the monarchy, "Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month ... like unto the feast that is in Judah" (I Kg 12:32). Therefore, the

(continued) was right in the eyes of the Lord, according to all that David his father had done". 2) Hezekiah's cleansing of the temple and his passover celebration are parallel to the restoration of the cult after the exile as described in Ezr 1-6, which Williamson categorizes as Davidic. 3) The salvation of Jerusalem from Assyria, where victory over foreign enemies is the reward for "seeking the Lord", the Ark.

236. J. M. Myers, II Chronicles, Introduction, Translation, and Notes, (AB), New York, 1965, p. 179; E.L. Curtis and A.H. Madsen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Chronicles, (ICC), 1910, p. 476; W. Rudolf, Chronikbücher, (HAT), 1955, p. 303.

237. H.G.M. Williamson, Israel in the Books of Chronicles, p.120.

two kingdoms maintained a difference of one month in their calendar of religious festivals. The Chronicler is unique in his witness to Hezekiah's deferring of the date of the Passover by one month to bring about a complete religious harmony between the northern kingdom and Judah. (238)

Fifthly, the temple arrangement of Hezekiah for the Passover celebration drawn by Chronicles (II Ch 29:7,18; 31:3) parallels its account of that of Solomon (II Ch 2:3; 4:7,20), that is, house, burning incense, shewbread, burnt offering in the morning and evening, Sabbath, New Moon, the set feasts, and candlestick with their lamps. We find a precise echo of all the items of Solomon's work for the temple in the work of Hezekiah. (239)

Sixthly, II Ch 31:2 alludes to Hezekiah's appointment of priests and Levites which parallels II Ch 8:14. Rudolf thinks that Hezekiah was reinstating the old order of Solomon, (240) whilst Myers says "Hezekiah reaffirmed the older order established by Solomon". (241)

Seventhly, another aspect for the argument is the wealth of Hezekiah (II Ch 32:27-29) which is similar to the wealth of Solomon's reign (II Ch 9:13ff). Also the Chronicler's unique portrayal of the attitude of the gentile nations to Solomon; such as, "all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon to hear his wisdom ... they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold" (II Ch 9:23f) is related to his account of Hezekiah; "many brought gifts to the Lord to Jerusalem, and precious things to Heze-

238. M. Gaster, "The Feast of Jeroboam and the Samaritan Calendar", Expositor 24 (1910), pp. 198-201.

239. H.G.M. Williamson, op. cit., p. 122.

240. W. Rudolf, ^{hhr} Chronikbücher, (HAT), 1955, p. 306.

241. J.M. Myers, II Chronicles, (AB), 1965, p. 183.

kiah ... so that he was exalted in the sight of all nations from that time onward" (II Ch 32:23).⁽²⁴²⁾

Eighthly, the Chronicler holds that in the period of Hezekiah the land was restored for the first time to its geographical extent in the time of Solomon. Japhet pointed out that the expression $\text{יְרֵאֵךְ לְיָרְשֵׁךְ}$, used only ten times in the Bible, is found on four occasions in Chronicles, once each in the reigns of David (I Ch 22:2), Solomon (II Ch 2:16), Hezekiah (II Ch 30:25), and Josiah (II Ch 34:7). As it was defined as "from Beersheba even to Dan" in I Ch 21:2 and II Ch 2:16 for the territory of Israel at the time of David and Solomon. II Ch 30: 5 describes the invitation that Hezekiah sent out prior to the Passover as a "proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba even to Dan". (II Ch 30:5).⁽²⁴³⁾

In terms of the celebration of the Passover, cultic and priestly arrangement, wealth, external relationship and geographical extent, Hezekiah's reign was portrayed as being parallel to that of Solomon. The Chronicler made a deliberate attempt by this means to show that the accomplishment of Solomon had been re-accomplished by Hezekiah.

242. R. Mosis, Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Chronistischen Geschichtswerks, 1973, pp. 155-162.

243. S. Japhet, The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought, (Hebrew submitted to Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1973, pp. 365ff; cited by H.G.M. Williamson, op. cit., p. 123, n. 1.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF HEBREW TORAH TRADITION

A

Etymology of Torah

At a first glance the term **תּוֹרָה** (hereafter Torah) would not seem to offer any etymological difficulties. In fact it has proved a strange and tantalizing problem. The earliest and the most generally accepted proposal was to regard **תּוֹרָה** as derived from the root **יָרָה** (mainly hiph'il = to cast, to shoot, to show, to point out, or to teach, etc.). Both in its form and significance, Torah has close affinities with the verb **הוֹרָה**, and it was thought that from the root **יָרָה** came the substantive **תּוֹרָה**, whose meaning would thus be "teaching" (cf. Lev 10:11). The meaning of the word "Torah" would therefore be "teaching", "instruction", or "Law". In Is 28:9, "Whom shall he teach (**הוֹרָה**) knowledge?" is a case in point. Since **הוֹרָה** here expresses an activity designed to impart "understanding" or "knowledge" (**דַּעַת**), it may be interpreted as meaning "to instruct". The same argumentation is possible in II Kg 17:27, where it is said that a priest "shall teach them (the people of Samaria) the "manner" of the God of the land" (**וְיָרִם אֶת-מִשְׁפָּט אֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ**). Of this manner (**מִשְׁפָּט**), the people are stated to be "ignorant" (**לֹא יָדָעוּ** in 17:26). Here too, therefore, **הוֹרָה** expresses the imparting of "knowledge" and should be rendered by "instruct", "spread teaching".⁽¹⁾ Therefore, in agreement with the sense of **הוֹרָה**, the meaning "instruction" is to be found in Torah. Many passages support this understanding, such as, Prov 1:8 and 3:1, where the fol-

1. G. Östborn, Tora in the Old Testament: a Semantic Study, (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons boktryckeri, 1945), p. 4.

lowing words of exhortation are uttered by a teacher of wisdom: "My son ... forsake not the Torah of thy mother" and "my son, forget not my Torah". Since the Torah-statements are made by a mother and a sage, the term Torah evidently means "instruction". For example, in Hos 4:6 and Mal 2:7, Torah stands in intimate relationship with knowledge.

A different opinion came from Gesenius, who held that הִוְרָה was derived from the root הִרָה, "to throw", and that the simplest explanation for the meaning of הִוְרָה would be "to stretch out one's hand or finger to point the way".⁽²⁾ Gesenius assumed that there was only a single stem הִרָה, taken as meaning "to throw".⁽³⁾ He draws from "to throw" not only "to lay (a foundation)" (Gen 31:51; Job 38:6), but also the more remote "to sprinkle", "to be wet" (Hiph. Hos 6:3; 10:12; Hoph. Prov 11:25) and "to rain" - only appearing in hiph il form (e.g. Ex 35:34; Mic 3:11). Gesenius believed "to give signs", "to show" there developed the sense "to instruct". But, this is textually and exegetically disputable and the relationship between "to show sign" and "to throw" is unclear.⁽⁴⁾ In this explanation correct, a certain gesture or a movement of the hand or fingers as pointing or indication has developed towards a more general idea of instruction.

Another similar interpretation was found in Wellhausen and his followers. Wellhausen held, like Gesenius, that the stem of הִוְרָה

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2. Prov 6:13; Ps 45:5; Gen 46:28?; W. Gesenius, Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, F. Buhl ed., 17th ed. 1921, p. 318 under III.
 4. G. Liedke-D. Petersen, "הִוְרָה", in: Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Jenni-Westermann ed. II, 1976, p. 1032.
 3. W. Gesenius, op. cit., p. 318; similarly, Brown-Driver-Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 434f.

(to instruct) was יָרָה (to throw), but conceived the semantic development along different lines. Wellhausen drew attention to the term מוֹרָה, the participle from הוֹרָה, not in a sense of "one who gives a sign", but in the sense of "archer".⁽⁵⁾ He believed that all these various meanings had been developed from the basic meaning "to throw" or more precisely "to throw lots". Wellhausen must have thought that "throw" was used in the OT in the combined phrase "to throw lots", though it occurs only in a single passage in Josh 18:6. He made a close study of the pre-Islamic religion of the Arabs,⁽⁶⁾ and learned the custom, general amongst the Arabs, of throwing lots with arrows, stones, and all manner of other objects. A method of casting lots comparable with that of the Arabs was used by the Israelite priests; the wielding of the ephod and keeping of the Urim and Tummim.⁽⁷⁾ It was an obvious inference to regard the priestly Torah as having grown out of answers received by questioning the Ephod and the Urim and Tummim, i.e. according to Wellhausen by casting lots. Therefore, originally Torah may have meant "casting lots" and been used in the first place of the directives obtained by casting lots, which subsequently came to mean "direction" or "instruction". Today Wellhausen's theory has been generally rejected.⁽⁸⁾

Another disputable theory first advocated by Delitzsch and fol-

5. J. Wellhausen, Der Text des Buches Samuelis untersucht, p. 171; cited by G. Østborn, Tora in the OT, 1945, p. 9.
6. J. Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, 3. Reste arabischen Heidentumes gesammelt und erläutert, 1887; cf. H. S. Nyberg, Bemerkungen zum 'Buch der Götzenbilder' von Ibn al-Kalbi, 1939, p. 350; also cf. G. Østborn, op. cit., p. 10.
7. J. Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, 3, p. 127.
8. J. Begrich, "Die Priestliche Tora", ZAW 66 (1936), p. 68ff; also in idem, Gesammelte Studien zum AT, p. 228; G. Østborn, Tora in the OT, 1945, p. 95ff; R. Rendtorff, RGK, 1929, IV, p. 95a.

lowed by W.F. Albright⁽⁹⁾ was that Torah is the loan-word from Accadian tertu or tirtu, which also probably has the ultimate meaning "indication", "omen" or "oracle". But, tertu itself derived from wa'aru/aru (to go, to send a message). The connection with the Accadian word can be accepted without resorting to the theory of a loan-word.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Accadian word (w)aru has the meaning "to go", "to bring", "to conduct", "to lead", or "to rule". Its third category of meaning "to instruct" is linked up with a causative stem from tertu. In this sense the term Torah is the only remnant in Hebrew of the stem wa'aru. Zimmern favoured this Accadian loan-word theory and thought that the Israelites borrowed this term during the exile.⁽¹¹⁾ Östborn also did not exclude this possibility.⁽¹²⁾ The advantage of this proposal is that it permits the meaning of "oracular response" for Torah, which may be discerned in the OT usage.⁽¹³⁾

B

THE PRE-DEUTERONOMIC TORAH

1. The Parental and Sapiential Torah

In the book of Proverbs the context of Prov 1:8 is an exhortation

9. W.F. Albright, "The Name 'Israel' and 'Judah', with an excursus on the Etymology of torah and torah", JBL 46 (1927), pp. 180-182; also cf. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, A/ii, 1956ff, pp. 313-316; cited by G. Östborn, op. cit., p. 16.
10. W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, 1952, ergänzungsschrift zum GAG, 1969 (Analecta Orientalia 33), Rome, 56/1, "Instruct"; I. Engnell, Israel and the law, 1946, pp. 1f; cf. G. Östborn, op. cit., p. 238.
11. Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion, 1901, p. 91; cited by W.F. Albright, op. cit., p. 180.

to flee from sin and violence. "Torah" here denotes an authoritative and compassionate discipline and instruction by parents. The home is a primary educational agency, and it is the home where the foundation of civilized behaviour and general excellence are laid.⁽¹⁴⁾

Torah and תּוֹרָה were coupled in Prov 3:1, and the context is that the physical and spiritual well-being is to be guided by the precepts of religion. There is a general similarity between 3:1 and 1:8, and between the meaning of Torah and תּוֹרָה. It is the enabling the young man to find his way in the world and make a success of his life. The source of authority is either the seniority of the parents or the sagacity of the wisdom teacher.⁽¹⁵⁾

It is not important to determine whether Prov 4:1f refers to the authority of parents or of the teacher, or whether the setting is the home or the school. The reference to mother (v. 3) indicates that it is the former.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the orient the authority of the teacher over his pupil is defined in terms of the natural authority of the parents over their child. The natural meaning of vv. 2 and 3 is that the father transmits to his son the teaching which he received from his father and mother.⁽¹⁷⁾

The context of Prov 6:20 and 23 is a warning against adultery (vv. 20-35). McKane thinks that this is a free adaptation of Dt 11:9, which is received by the author of Proverbs and set in a context of

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12. G. Østborn, Tora in the Old Testament, 1945, p. 53.
 13. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", in: Words and Meanings, P.R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars, ed., 1968, p. 119.
 14. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, (OTL), 1970, p. 268.
 15. Ibid., p. 290.
 16. Ibid., p. 303.
 17. Ibid., p. 303.

parental instruction.⁽¹⁸⁾ Apparently his judgement is based on the general assumption that Prov 1-9 is later than Deuteronomy, Job, and Koheleth. The *prima facie* reference is to parental and not scholastic instruction. The coupling of Torah with מִצְוָה in v. 20 is further described with a coupling of נֵר (lamp) and אֹר (light); נֵר was assigned to מִצְוָה and אֹר to Torah. The coupling of נֵר and אֹר appears elsewhere only in Ps 119:105, the Torah psalm, referring neither to Torah nor to מִצְוָה, but to Yahweh's word (cf Prov 6:23 where the reference is not to commandments but to general instruction). Yahweh's words are described as a lamp (נֵר) to the feet and a light (אֹר) to the path.⁽¹⁹⁾ McKane asserts that these two metaphors (lamp and light) are borrowed from the milieu of legal piety, because he holds that the מִצְוָה and Torah in Prov 4:11-12 belong to law and wisdom,⁽²⁰⁾ while מִצְוָה מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה (corrective discipline, literally "reproofs and discipline") is a concept of educational discipline. McKane adds, "this verse formally (motive clause) and materially has firm associations with old wisdom".⁽²¹⁾

Prov 7:2 has מִצְוָה which is the mandatory form of instruction, and Torah which has the character of "directive" or "guidance". Torah is to be kept as "the little man of the eye", i.e. "the pupil of the eye". Without it a man is left in darkness. The Torah of the teacher is light for the mind imparting sure guidance for conduct. This reminds us of the preceding metaphor in 6:23a; "for the מִצְוָה is a lamp and the Torah is a light". The contrast of "commandment"

18. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, 1970, p. 327.

19. Psalm 119:105; G. Vermes, "Torah is a Light", VT 8 (1958), pp. 436f.

20. W. McKane, op. cit., pp. 307f, 327.

21. Ibid., p. 327.

and Torah may imply that Torah is tender motherly instruction in a form of non-imperative exhortation, advice, admonition, persuasion, or precaution, being distinguished from stern fatherly command with legal authority in the form of demand, prohibition, and warning.

The אִשָּׁרָה and Torah are again coupled in Prov 13:13f. The instruction of the wisdom teacher is said to be the fountain of life, which offers an escape from the snare of death. This recalls the representation of the two ways of life and death in Prov 1-9. To take advice is to appropriate life and to be safe from death.

In Prov 28:4 Torah probably has the general sense of instruction as in Prov 1-9, namely that of parental or scholastic instruction.⁽²²⁾ McKane holds that the Torah of Prov 1-9 has been subjected to reinterpretation in terms of Yahwistic faith, associating it with a new concept of discipline in which the directives of Yahweh (the law of Yahweh) have been substituted for the authoritative instruction of the wisdom teacher. In other words, educational discipline is replaced by the discipline of piety.⁽²³⁾ That means that in his understanding of the contrast between the forsaker and the keeper of Torah, he takes the Torah to refer to the statutes of law. But, the focus of subject-matter here is the contrast between good and bad rather than between the forsaker and keeper of the Torah, therefore "those who forsake the instruction praise the wicked" seems to be an adequate translation in the context. As Toy points out,⁽²⁴⁾ if we are to as-

22. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, p. 623; A. Barucq, Le livre des Proverbes, Paris, 1964, who translates as 'law'; C.H. Toy, The Book of Proverbs, (ICC), has 'law' in v.4, 'instruction' in v.7 and 9; B. Gemser and Ringgren have 'instruction' in all three; Sprüche Salomos, (HAT 10), 1963, ad. loc.

23. W. McKane, op. cit., p. 623.

24. C.H. Toy, The Book of Proverbs, (ICC), 1899, 1964, p. xxviii.

sign this to the post-exilic period, 28:4 would hardly be conceivable in the sense of the forsaker and the keeper of Torah until the Greek period.

The antithesis of wise man and fool along with that of son and father in Prov 28:7 states that one who heeds to his father's direction is a wise son, whereas one who disregards it and so becomes the companion of profligates brings shame on his father. This is so not only because of his deplorable conduct but also because he demonstrates that his father had been unable to guide and control his son aright. McKane regards this as a reinterpretation of the old wisdom by the Yahwistic school to convert educational discipline into a description of piety.⁽²⁵⁾ Nevertheless it may be argued that, though the prevailing climate of this chapter is piety, the reasonable meaning of Torah here is parental instruction rather than Yahweh's directives.

The coupling of Torah and תפלה (prayer)- "If one turns away his ear from hearing the Torah, even his prayer is an abomination" (Prov 28:9)- is also taken by McKane to indicate the place of Torah observance in any scheme of piety. Even the prayer, the generally accepted expression of piety, becomes an abomination if it is associated with inattention to Torah. McKane asserts that this word belongs to the context of a theodicy which means that he who fails to attend to Yahweh's Torah is evil, even if he is a man of prayer.⁽²⁶⁾ But, this does not seem to be what the author meant. This passage, which belongs to the earliest period of Torah tradition (Proverbs) does not belong to the milieu of Torah-piety or to the latest period

25. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, p. 623.

26. Ibid., p. 623.

of the OT, namely, the early period of Judaism. It would be more natural to see it as an occasional contradiction between one's religious piety and his familio-social ethics, that is, the religious practice is abominable if one disgraces his parents in the community life by not following the instruction of his parents and teachers. Lindars admits that the evidence is slight and inconclusive.⁽²⁷⁾

In Prov 29:18 Barucq and Scott interpret Torah as "law" rather than "instruction" (so Gemser and Ringgren). The cessation of prophecy would thus be contrasted with keeping the law, and the disorder of community with the blessedness of the individual who keeps the Torah. McKane wants to interpret this antithesis in terms of later Jewish society,⁽²⁸⁾ but this is not necessarily so. We can see the inter-relationship between individual happiness and the well-being of the community in which one lives; the inter-relationship between the lack of restraint in the community caused by the lack of prophetic vision and the fall of a community is contrasted with the relationship between the follower of parental/sapiential instruction and the blessedness of his life.

Prov 31:26 belongs to an acrostic on the ideal housewife,⁽²⁹⁾ and Torah there certainly refers not the code of law but to instruction or advice from her, which is associated with the terms "wisdom", "kindness", "mouth", and "tongue".

With the possible exception of 29:18, Torah never appears in a legislative sense,⁽³⁰⁾ but rather in the sense of wisdom instruction.⁽³¹⁾

27. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 135.

28. W. McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, pp. 641-642.

29. M.B. Crook, "The Marriagable Maiden of Prov 31:10-31", JNES 13 (1954), pp. 137-140, esp. p. 139.

30. B. Gemser, Die Sprüche Salomos, (HAT 10), 1963, p. 21; E.G. Bauchmann, "Die Proverbien und die Sprüche des Jesus Sirach", ZAW 72 (1960), p. 37.

Normally it signifies direction or instruction for morals and manners, imparted by parents or wisdom teachers. The teaching of the wise is a fountain of life (13:14): "Keep my commandment and live, keep my Torah as your apple of your eye" (7:2), "my son, do not forget my Torah" (3:1; cf. 5:13). The varying use of אָבִי, to denote physical father or as a title of a wisdom teacher is noteworthy; "Hear, O sons, a father's אָבִי (instruction), and be attentive, that you may gain insight, for I give you good precepts (פְּלִי): do not forsake my Torah" (4:1f; cf. 4:4, 11). The use of Torah is parallel to the use of the whole gamut of terms which express the wisdom-concept; such as, אֱלֹהִים (3:1; 4:4; 6:20; 7:2), אֱלֹהֵיךָ (4:11; 31:26), אֱלֹהִים (1:8; 4:1; 6:23), לֵךְ (4:2), בִּינָה (4:1), דְּבַר (4:4), דִּרְשׁ (4:11), תּוֹכַחנות (reproof, 6:23). One is exhorted neither to forsake (אַל תַּשְׁכֵּחַ, 4:2) nor forget (אַל תִּשְׁכַּח, 3:1), nor to reject (אַל תִּשְׁטַח, 1:8; 6:20), but to keep (אֶשְׁמֹר, 7:2) this wisdom.

The demand to hear (Prov 31:26) shows the oral character of the Torah. The theory that Torah in OT was originally always meant as divine instruction, and that from there the non-theological demand of Torah was derived, ⁽³²⁾ has proved to be unsound. Rather the sapiential Torah should be viewed as happening independently of the priestly Torah and the prophetic Torah, if the latter occurred. ⁽³³⁾

The usual designation for a wisdom-saying in the early wisdom

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31. J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung, (BZAW 62), 1933, p. 83; A. von Sauer, "Wisdom and Law in Old Testament Wisdom Literature", CThM 43 (1972), p. 606.
 32. G. Østborn, Tora in the Old Testament, 1945, p. 89f; J. Be-grich, "Die priestliche Tora", in: Gesammelte Studien, 1964, pp. 233ff.
 33. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", 1968, p. 122; J. Jensen, The Use of Tora by Isaiah, (CBQ Monog. Ser. 3), 1973, p. 67f.

literature is מִשְׁלָּל (Prov 1:1,6). What is expected from a wise man is counsel (עֲצָה Jer 18:18), and the mode of wisdom is instruction. In other words, wisdom has an expository and didactic character; that is why wisdom is sometimes characterized by the term "way", אֶרֶץ, and נְתִיבָה מְשֻׁכֶּט (Prov 8:20). Wisdom teaches (הִוְרָה) "words" (דְּבָרִים) and "commandment" (מִצְוָה) as well as Torah (Prov 4:4; 7:2), which are characterized as lamp (נֵר for נִלְאָה) and light (אֹרֶךְ for Torah, Prov 6:23)

In Proverbs Torah is used in a quite general way, and to a certain extent Torah was employed to denote the instruction given within the family circle (Prov 1:8; 6:20). Torah in Prov 1:8; 3:1; 4:2; 6:20,23; 7:2; 13:14 is used to describe the education of the young. That is, none of above passages suggests the concept of the law of Yahweh from Moses. In each case it is identified as the instruction of the parent-teacher. This meaning continues even in so late a passage as the ^ascroptic poem in the virtuous housewife (Prov 31:26), where the meaning of Torah is "wise instruction", precisely the sense which we would defend for every occurrence of the term in Prov 10-21.

Wisdom contains elements of popular origin, but if the wise men were actually "scribes"⁽³⁴⁾ in the king's service, then the wisdom school was attached to the court. So the temple, court, and family are the possible life-situations of Torah in the pre-Deuteronomic period.

2. Torah in the Pre-Deuteronomic Prophets :

Amos has only one Torah passage (2:4), and its context is the

34. H. Gressmann, "Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels", ZAW 42 (1924), pp.272-296; H.W. Robinson, The OT: Its Making and Meaning, 1934, 1949.

indictment against Judah, which shows Deuteronomic flavour and style. Following many earlier scholars, Hyatt, Wolff, Mays, and Jensen take it as later addition by the Deuteronomic editor on the basis of style, lack of concreteness, non-elaborate punishment, and the division of two ^kkingdoms. (35) However, the division of the kingdom was a fact in the time of Amos, and moreover the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic authors never used $\text{D}\chi\text{N}$ (reject) of Torah, but early prophets, such as, Jer 6:19 and Is 5:24.

Amos | Hosea understood the Torah of Yahweh not as a particular instruction of priests or wise men, but a collected manifestation of Yahweh's will and already circulating in a fixed, written form. (36) However, the coupling of Torah with the statutes ($\text{D}\chi\text{N}$) in Am 2:4, which does not appear in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literatures, except once in Dt 17:19, tells against the view that this is a later addition by the Deuteronomic editor, and rather implies that there were two modes of guidance in the temple upon which the priestly duty is based. Therefore, the Torah in Am 2:4 probably reflects the early usage of the term, and it rather implies the instruction of the Levitical priests relative to the covenantal laws.

Hosea, Amos' contemporary, uses the term Torah three times. Hos 4:6, "You have rejected knowledge ... you have ignored the Torah of your God", speaks to the religious failure of the priests who failed to inculcate the knowledge of God and had forgotten the Torah. (37) The description of the priestly failure to inculcate the knowledge

35. J.P. Hyatt, "Amos", in: Peake's Commentary, p. 618; H.W. Wolff, Joel/Amos, (BK 14/1), 1969, p. 129; J.L. Mays, Amos: A Commentary, (OTL), London, 1969, p. 41; J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p. 19.

36. H.W. Wolff, op. cit., p. 176f.

of God by use of the Torah implies a Levitical instruction based upon the covenantal law with its blessings and curses, because the אֱמֻנָה and יְהוָה of 4:1 are qualities of covenant loyalty, while the crimes of v. 2 may well allude to transgressions of covenant law. It is probable that one of the chief functions of the priests was to provide instruction in covenant obligations within the context of liturgical ceremony.⁽³⁸⁾ Torah should be understood in a general sense as priestly instruction with reference to commandments and observance. Lindars takes it as "the explanation of law and authoritative ruling on the manner in which a law is to be kept, or on the scope of its operation", or as "recitation of the law" with "explanation of it".⁽³⁹⁾

The context of Hos 8:1 is Israel's breaking the covenant with Yahweh, and priests are not mentioned in this passage. The Torah is meant to govern Israel's conduct and expresses the bond of loyalty.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The fault is not laid to the priests but to Israel itself. The Torah here is parallel to the covenant, and presumably roughly synonymous with it. Hos 8:12, "were I to write for him my laws by ten thousands, they would be regarded as a strange thing" was taken by Gordis as suggesting that each sanctuary had its Toroth by which its ritual was governed.⁽⁴¹⁾ Written Toroth are implied, which are sacred and by which their ritual was governed.

The book of first Isaiah (1-39) has more Torah passages than the

37. P.R. Ackroyd, "Hosea", Peake's Commentary, 1964, p. 609.

38. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, pp. 190-194; A. Weiser, Introduction to the OT, tr. D.A. Barton, 1961, pp. 81-99; R.B.Y. Scott, "Priesthood, Prophecy, Wisdom, and Knowledge of God", JBL 80 (1961), pp. 6f.

39. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 123.

40. P.R. Ackroyd, op. cit., p. 609.

41. R. Gordis, Koheleth: the Man and his World, 1955, p. 14.

other 8th century prophets (7 in Isaiah, 1 in Amos, 3 in Hosea, 1 in Micah). Is 1:10, "Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers ... Give ear to the Torah of our God, you people", belongs to his oracle against Judah (1:10-17 or 1:10-20). No law code is referred to here.⁽⁴²⁾ The parallel use of the terms "word" and "Torah" might be understood to refer to two modes of divine revelation, the priestly instruction and the prophetic warning.⁽⁴³⁾ The term "Torah here was taken "the prophetic word" by Lindblom,⁽⁴⁴⁾ "the priestly Torah" by Zimmerli,⁽⁴⁵⁾ "wise man's instruction" by Jensen.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Is 2:3 (=Mic 4:2) occurs in a traditional vision cherished among the disciples of Isaiah and Micah. Most scholars regard this as post-exilic,⁽⁴⁷⁾ but this judgement seems to rest chiefly on the assumption that the passage contains ideas not proper to eighth century BC thought. This is questionable, and some have attributed it to Isaiah.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Jensen argues for the wisdom sense of Torah, namely

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42. H. Wildberger, Jesaja 1-12, (BK 10/1), pp. 36f.
 43. O. Kaiser, Isaiah 1-12, (OTL), London, 1972, pp. 14 and 27.
 44. J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1962, p. 156.
 45. W. Zimmerli, The Law and the Prophets: A Study of the Meaning of the OT, tr. R.E. Clements, Oxford, 1965, p. 73.
 46. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, pp. 68-84.
 47. E.g. G.B. Gray, The Book of Isaiah, (ICC), 1912, p. 43f; G. Fohrer, Das Buch Jesaja I, (Züricher Bibelkommentare), Zürich, 1960, p. 51; J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, pp. 283f and 290; B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", 1968, p. 121.
 48. H. Wildberger, op. cit., pp. 76-80; O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, 1936, p. 128; G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology II, 1969, pp. 294f; J. Fichtner, "Jahves Plan in der Botschaft des Jesaja", ZAW 63 (1951), p. 31; Th.C. Vrienen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", in: Israel's Prophetic Heritage, pp. 134, 144; H.W. Wolff, "The Understanding of History in OT Prophets", in: Essays in OT Interpretation, C. Westermann, ed. 1963, p. 347; R.E. Clements,

"teaching".⁽⁴⁹⁾ In Is 5:24 the term Torah is used in the series of "woe oracles" (vv. 18-24), which is a part of a larger "woe" complex containing denunciation of various sins (5:8-24), followed by announcement of the divine judgement (5:25-30). Here the meaning is probably neither "legal prescription" nor "prophetic revelation"; rather the word is used in the wisdom sense, which includes what pertains to Yahweh's תִּצְוֶה.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The perversion of justice is thought to be based on Judah's disregard of the covenant law and contempt for the court. They are "sons who will not hear the instruction of the Lord" (30:9).

In Is 8:16 and 20 "testimony" and "Torah" appear in parallel. The command is given to bind (רָבַץ) it and seal it as a scroll (cf. Jer 32:10), and entrust it to the disciples. Alternatively רָבַץ may be taken as an infinitive absolute and understood as Isaiah's statement that he will bind up the document. Gray suggests that testimony "refers to such sides of Isaiah's public utterances as his assertions that Ephraim and Syria would do Judah no harm but would be speedily destroyed" and that teaching "is more particularly his insistence on the need for quiet confidence and faith in Yahweh"⁽⁵¹⁾ Exactly what Isaiah wrote on the scroll is unknown, but probably the oracles in the passage immediately preceding.⁽⁵²⁾ So, "the teaching" would be the proper translation for the Torah here. The word

(Continued) God and Temple, 1965, p.81; and also, idem, Prophecy and Covenant, (SBT 43), 1965, p. 49; B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 121.

49. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p. 89.

50. Ibid., p. 104.

51. G.B. Gray, The Book of Isaiah, (ICC), p. 155.

52. J. Bright, "Isaiah", in: Peake's Commentary, 1964, p. 496.

הַיְחַלּוּץ occurs elsewhere in the OT only at Ruth 4:7, where it is used of the attestation of a legal transaction. Wildberger argues that the sense of the word in 8:16 must be connected with the use of the verb in the hiph'il meaning "^{to}the warn, admonish", as applied to the activity of the spokesman in the covenant festival when he confronts the people with the will of Yahweh. Accordingly the noun is here applied to the activity of the prophet in that sense.⁽⁵³⁾ The two nouns presumably carry the same meanings, but the interpretation of that verse as a whole is uncertain.

In 30:9, referring to "sons who will not hear the Torah of the Lord", Torah is used in the same sense as in 1:10.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The divine revelation or instruction is rejected in this instance by persuading seers and prophets to deliver an easy ^but false message.

Jensen argues that in the context of the five of the six occurrences (1:10; 2:3; 5:24b; 8:16-20; 30:9), Isaiah never used Torah as a technical term for his prophetic word,⁽⁵⁵⁾ but all instances are sapiential, because they are associated with the dense concentration of wisdom terms, such as, הוֹרָה , הוֹכִיחַ , הוֹדָה , הִנְיָה , and הִנְיָה . Torah in Isaiah does not indicate a covenantal code, nor an aggregation of laws, but a broad sweep of ethical instruction based on the authority of God's revelation.

The term Torah appears in Habakkuk 1:4, which belongs to the prophet's complaint against Yahweh for his tolerating wrong (1:2-4), protesting that the wicked surround the righteous so that justice is perverted. The slack practice of Torah may refer to the break-down

53. H. Wildberger, Jesaja 1-12, (BK 10), 1965, p. 345.

54. Ibid., p. 117f.

55. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p. 25.

of the social order before Josiah's reformation, and the term Torah is paralleled by טֹרָה denoting the administration of justice.

Therefore, Lindars takes this to mean that the giving of Torah and the administration of justice have almost completely lapsed.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The early practice of priestly direction is meant along with the judiciary judgement.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The general picture of the early prophetic Torah-passages can be summed up as follows. The priests worked both by technical methods with sacred objects and also by giving instruction according to use and wont, but the prophets worked by personal ecstatic inspiration. Because recent work on the prophets has largely removed the idea of a fundamental opposition between prophets and priests, which was formerly prevalent in critical scholarship, the close connection between the prophets and priests has come to be generally agreed; and it is widely held that prophets were attached to sanctuaries and that prophetic sayings formed a part of the temple cult.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Further, as Lindars observes, since it was customary to go to the Seer (נָחֵם) to gain an answer from God (I Sam 9:9), "there is nothing intrinsically impossible in the use of נָחֵם to describe a prophetic oracle", although the term "Torah" rarely occurs in this sense.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Is 1:10; 5:24; 30:9; 8:16,20 are the most probable instances.

3. Torah as Priestly Instruction

There is ample evidence that it was above all by priests that Torah was imparted. Östborn points out that, "next to the divinity, "priest" is the subject most frequently occurring with נָחֵם , "to impart tōrā".⁽⁶⁰⁾ Probably the earliest evidence for the function

56. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 133.

57. S.R. Driver, The Minor Prophets, (Century Bible), vol. II, p.66.

of the priests as those who communicated Torah is the part of the blessing of Moses which refers to Levi: "And of Levi he said, 'Give to Levi thy Thummim, and thy Urim to thy godly one ... They shall teach (יִרְיִ) Jacob thy ordinances (תְּוִשְׁטִי) and Israel thy law (תִּתְּנֵם)" (Dt 33:8,10). It has been maintained by some that the reference to Urim and Thummim with the mention of Levi in the singular (denoting the tribe?) is probably an older part of the poem than the reference to a teaching function which "they" (presumably the Levitical priests) will exercise.⁽⁶¹⁾ However that may be, in the passage as it now stands the functions of technical divination and of teaching customary law and giving instruction are distinguished, although included along with the presenting of incense and burnt offering in the list of duties of the Levitical priesthood.

The imparting of instruction or of decisions (if, as has been suggested, the word is pointed as a plural) may be illustrated from Ex 18:13-27 (Source E), in which it is said that in matters of dispute Moses let the people know "the statutes (שְׁפָטִים) of God and his decisions (תִּשְׁפֹּט)" (v. 16). G.B. Gray has rightly said of this passage that in it "Moses appears not as legislator and priest, or as a legislator prior to legislating priests, but as priest in

58. S. Mowinckel, Psalmestudien III, 1923; V, rep. 1962, pp. 2, 119f; idem, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, vol. II, 1962, pp. 53-73; A.R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient, 2nd edn., 1962; idem, The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody, 1979.

59. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 121.

60. G. Östborn, Tora in the Old Testament, p. 89.

61. So A. Cody, A History of Old Testament Priesthood, (Analecta Biblica 35), Rome, 1969, pp. 116f; cf. F. M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses", JBL 67 (1948), p. 203, n. 28.

Israel

legislating activity".⁽⁶²⁾ The association of the priesthood with Torah is implied by Hosea when, in his denunciation of the priests of his own time, he accuses them of forgetting the Torah of their God (Hos 4:6). Similarly ^{he} combines with his denunciation of corrupt judges and mercenary prophets the statement that priests teach for hire (Mic 3:11). As is indicated by a passage from a later period (Hag 2:11-13) such Toroth would include rulings about the distinction between the holy and the common, the clean and the unclean, and similar ritual questions. The range of such questions is clear from the numerous directions given in "P", many, or even most, of which are likely to belong to a much earlier period than that which is commonly assigned to "P" as a completed legislative corpus.

Examples of these are Torah on particular sacrifices (Lev 6:9,14, 24; 7:1,7,11,37; Num 15:16,29), Torah on leprosy (Lev 13:59; 14:2, 32,54; cf. Dt 24:8), Torah on discharge (Lev 15:32), ordeal (Num 5: 29f), and Nazarites oath (Num 6:13,21).⁽⁶³⁾ Begrich sought to establish the original form of priestly Torah from the Hexateuchal evidence and found it to be above all characterised by command and prohibition in the second person plural (i.e. Lev 7:22-25). Begrich terms it inner-priestly professional knowledge.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Rendtorff chooses to identify Torah as "ritual" assignment to the laymen.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Koch differentiated Begrich's Torah into a simple and expanded Torah.⁽⁶⁶⁾

62. G.B. Gray, Sacrifice in the Old Testament, Oxford, 1925, p. 205.

63. J. Begrich, "Die priestliche Tora", pp. 235f.

64. After Hos 4:6; Mal 2:7 ^{er} לִי is named. Begrich, op. cit., p. 251ff.

65. R. Rendtorff, Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift, (FRLANT NF 44), 1954, 1962, cf. G. Liedke, "לִי", in: Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT, II, col. 1037.

Apparently not only the vetitive and imperative commands of the priest but also the prohibition and the demand in the present tense of the priestly לִשְׁמֹרָה have been designated as Torah.⁽⁶⁷⁾ That all of these materials in the final shape of "P" were designated the Torah may indicate a change of the meaning of Torah. The inner-priestly professional knowledge, the לִשְׁמֹרָה tradition became the Torah as lay-instruction. תּוֹרַת יְהוָה is often found to be parallel to דְּבַר (Is 2:3; 5:24; 8:20; Jer 6:19; 18:18; Mic 4:2; Zech 7:12), אִמְרָה (Is 5:24), or בְּרִית (Is 24:5; Jer 31:33; Hos 8:1; Mal (2:8-9) in prophets and twice with מִשְׁפָּט in second Isaiah (42:4; 51:4).⁽⁶⁸⁾

To which tradition the phrase "Torah of Yahweh" belongs is not fully clear; certainly the Sinai-tradition has played a decisive role.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Actually the application of Torah as showing the collective will of God (only in Ex 18:16,20; Gen 26:5; Ps 105:45 does the plural appear) strengthens the saying about the Torah of the parents in Proverbs (cf. Is 30:9 with Prov 4:1f and Job 22:22).

The presupposition of this "Torah of Yahweh" formula belongs to the saying about Yahweh's teaching, which is already found in the Yahwist: "Go, and I will be with your mouth and teach you what you shall speak" (Ex 4:12,15)⁽⁷⁰⁾ In Judg 13:8, Manoah entreated God;

66. K. Koch, Die Priesterschrift von Ex 25-Lev 16, (FRLANT 53), 1959, pp. 97ff.

67. G. Liedke, Gestalt und Bezeichnung der alttestamentliche Rechtsätze: eine formgeschichtlich-terminologische Studie, (WMANT 39) 1971, p. 198.

68. Held by G. Liedke, Gestalt und Bezeichnung der alttestamentliche Rechtsätze, pp. 15-17.

69. Hos 8:12; Ex 24:12 with a gloss, Is 24:26; H. Schmid, "Prophet und König im Alten Testament", Judaica 25 (1969), p. 14f.

70. M. Noth, Exodus, (OTL), London, 1966, pp. 46f.

"O Lord, let the man of God teach as what we are to do with the boy that will be born. This speech form was taken up again by Isaiah in a parable of the farmer, patterned on contemporary wisdom literature just as in the Psalmist's prayer; "Teach me, Yahweh, thy way" (Ps 86: 11; 27:11; 119:33; cf. 25:8,12; 32:8; Is 2:3=Mic 4:2). For "he (the farmer) is instructed aright, his God teaches him" (Is 28:26). To this corresponds the presupposition of God as "the Teacher" (מורה) in Job 36:22 and Is 30:20.

To sum up the nature of the pre-exilic Torah, though the term is sometimes applied to prophetic utterance, it is certain that the priests were in charge of Torah-instruction. The content of Torah was predominantly cultic, covering ritual sacrifice, the distinction between clean and unclean, and between the holy and common. It also includes diagnosis of various diseases, and the rules for festivals and vows. The Levitical priests were to expound and inculcate this Torah in order to give practical guidance to the inquiry of the people for their community and social life. Later the Torah is said to have been given to the priests by Moses (Dt 17:18), and the Levites were charged to carry it in the Ark (Dt 31:25f). Priests were charged with and blamed for having violated and profaned the Torah (Jer 18:18; Ezk 7:26; Zech 7:12). The people sought Torah from the priests (Mal 2:7) and priests decided questions by giving Torah (Hag 2:11), which sometimes misled the people (Mal 2:8) when ^{they} were partial or deceitful in their decision-making (Mal 2:9).

One of the noteworthy features of Torah is that in the historical writings it appears either alone or with synonyms, such as "the statutes" (דְּבָרֵי) for the most part, also "commandments" (מִצְוֹת), etc, which are all under the priestly jurisdiction. But, when it appears

in the prophetic literatures, in many cases it is either antithetically or synthetically used with the term "word", the one signifying the priestly (or, sometimes, prophetic teaching) and the other the prophetic oracle. The implication is not at all insignificant in my judgement; that is, the priestly written Torah contains "the things that are revealed" (past) which "belongs to us" (Dt 29:28), and that which is presently revealed is in the prophetic "word" (present). For examples:

"Hear the word of Yahweh. Give ear to the Torah of our God". (Is 1:10)

"For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah and the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem." (Is 2:3)

"For they have rejected the Torah of the Lord of hosts, and have despised the word of the Holy One of Israel". (Is 5:24)

"They have forsaken my Torah ... and have not obeyed my voice" (Jer 9:12).

"They did not obey thy voice or walk in thy Torah". (Jer 32:23)

"You... did not obey the voice of the Lord or walk in his Torah". (Jer 44:23)

"They seek a vision from the prophet, the Torah perishes from the priest". (Ezk 7:26).

"Out of Zion shall go forth the Torah and the words of God". (Mic 4:2)

"Her prophets are wanton and faithless, for priests profaned what is sacred by doing violence to the Torah". (Zeph 3:4)

"Lest thy should hear the Torah and the words ... of ... spirit through ... prophets". (Zech 7:12)

In its parallel apparence with "word" the verbs used for Torah are different from those for the "word". The verbs for Torah are "give ear" (שָׁמַע, Is 1:10), "keep" (שָׁמַר, Is 1:10; Jer 16:11; Ezk 44:24), "reject" (רָשָׁה, Is 5:24; Jer 6:19), "violate" (פָּסַח, Zeph 3:4), "forsake" (אַחֲזָק, Jer 9:12), or "walk" (חָלַק, Jer 32:23; 44:23), while

the verbs for the "word", which appears in parallel with Torah, are "obey" (שָׁמַע, Is 1:10; Jer 9:12; 32:23; 44:23), "hear" (שָׁמַע, Is 1:10; Zech 7:12), "despise" (קָטַף, Is 5:24), "give heed" (שָׁמַע, Jer 6:19), which imply the prophetic warning and rebuke upon the violation of the covenant. In Proverbs, even in its early period, there is also ~~of~~ an analogous parallelism; "Where there is no prophecy (נִבִּיָּא), the people cast off restraint, but blessed is he who keeps the law (הִלְכָּה)" (Prov 29:18). A similar parallelism is found in Job 22:22: "Receive instruction (הִלְכָּה) from his mouth, and lay up his words (דְּבָרָיו) in your heart".

The conviction that giving Torah is originally and primarily a priestly function is virtually universal.⁽⁷¹⁾ Jensen claims that the priestly origin is probably correct, but the early evidence is not overwhelming.⁽⁷²⁾ There is no question that divination was practised in Israel through the use of sacred lots.⁽⁷³⁾ Much assertion centred around the probable practice that the priestly response to a question comprised the priestly Torah,⁽⁷⁴⁾ the direct indication of

71. J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora", 1936, pp. 68-88; W. Gutbrod, "The Meaning of Torah", in: Law, (Bible Key Words from G. Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum AT), London, 1962, pp. 10-44; who lists Ex 13:9; 16:4; 18:16,20; 24:12 as disputable. Jensen based his argument on Dt 33:10; Hos 4:6; Mic 3:11; Jer 18:18 and Ezk 7:26; J. Jensen, The Use of tora 1973, p. 6.

72. J. Jensen, op. cit., p. 7.

73. It might be possible to argue from the reference to אֵלֹהֵי מִזְבֵּחַ in Gen 12:6 that הִנֵּחָה is connected with divination, but it may be a proper name of place and furthermore, it tells nothing about the priestly practice in Israel.

74. A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1948, I, pp. 188f; Lindars says it "is primarily a specific direction in response to a query, and the broader notion of instruction which is "a result of the generalizing tendency common in semantic development"; B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p.119.

which can be found in Hag 2:11-14 wherein the priests are asked concerning the effects of contact with that which is holy and that which is unclean, and Torah stands as a technical term for a decision given by priests in response to a query. Reference is also made to Zech 7:1-3 and 8:18f as a further confirmation of Torah as response to enquiry, though the term "Torah" does not appear here, and Jensen observes that these reflect post-exilic practice and may not be in accord with earlier practice, and thus do not necessarily tell us anything about the original meaning of Torah,⁽⁷⁵⁾ and he claims that priestly pronouncement serves rather a paedagogical purpose, and thereby priestly teaching might be a correct expression of the priestly Torah. We can readily imagine life situations in which both of these functions either mingled together or fluctuated. The simple meaning "instruction" is the right meaning of the Torah in all these passages.

C

THE DEUTERONOMIC TORAH

1. The Torah-Passages in Deuteronomy

The Torah in Dt 1:5 belongs to the introduction to the first address of Moses, a historical review of how marvellously the Lord guided his people in the wilderness: "Moses undertook to explain (בְּאֵר) this law, saying ..." The expression "this law" occurs in Deuteronomy 19 times (including the present instance). It seems most probable that the reference is to the Deuteronomic Code.⁽⁷⁶⁾

75. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p.9.

76. See S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, (ICC), p. 8; G.A. Smith, Deuteronomy, (CB), p. 5.

Dt 4:8 belongs to the conclusion to the first address, and shows the same usage of the term as Dt 1:5; "What great nation is there that has statutes and ordinances so righteous as all this law". Moses appeals for faithful obedience, by saying that the keeping and observing the statutes (טִבְעֵי) and ordinances (מִשְׁפָּטֵי) will become Israel's wisdom and understanding (4:6). These statutes and ordinances are contained in the Torah. Israel possesses a divinely revealed Torah, which is already laid down in oral or written form, and is forbidden to add to it or to take from it (4:2). This Torah was aimed to bring the readers to learn to fear the Lord by the hearing of it (4:10).

In Dt 4:44 Torah includes the testimonies (עֲדוּת), the statutes (טִבְעֵי), and the ordinances (מִשְׁפָּטֵי) (4:45), and the Torah is said to have been set before the Israelites by Moses.

Dt 17 has three passages that have the term Torah (v. 11, 18, 19). In v. 11 "according to instruction which they give ... the decision which ^{they} pronounce, you^f shall do ..." the Torah means the decision in a form of instruction at the central judicial and priestly court, which according to v. 9 involves the Levitical priests and the judge. Verses 18-19 run "when he (king) sits on the throne ... he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law from that which is in charge of the Levitical priests, and it shall be with him, and he shall read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God by keeping all the words of this Torah and these statutes (טִבְעֵי), and doing them. The king is not the law but is subjected to God's will like any other citizen. Von Rad thought this as one of the latest additions,⁽⁷⁷⁾ but there is no ap-

77. G.von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), 1966, p. 119.

parent clear reason for this. "This Torah" clearly refers here to the Deuteronomic Code, now unambiguously described as a written document, which is kept in the custody of Levitical priests, and which the king is required to study. Of particular note is the connection between study of the Torah and the fear of Yahweh.

The three Torah-passages in ch. 27 (v. 3,8,26) belong to the presumably annual covenant ceremony at Shechem, which reflects an actual service of covenant worship. "This Torah", which is said to be written on the stone (v. 3,8), is probably either the Deuteronomic code or the blessings and curses contained in vv. 15-26. The occurrence of "this Torah" in v. 26 makes it likely that the reference is to the code.

In Dt 28:58 and 61, which belong to the conclusion of Moses' address, it is clear that the Torah is the legislation, which is already in a book. "If you are not careful to do (לַעֲשׂוֹת) all the words of this Torah which are written in this book ... in the book of this Torah ..." The admonition is put in the context of curses and warnings. This sermon offers us what is virtually a crescendo of curses and is linked to the fear of the Lord (v. 58).

Dt 29:20(21)28(29) and 30:10 also are Torah passages, and these belong to the Moses' third address (29:1-30:20). 29:20 (21) implies that "this book of the Torah" contains all the curses of the covenant". 29:28(29) speaks of "the words of this laws" as things to be done, clearly referring to the legislative content. 30:10 also implies that the content of "this book of the law" is legislative (לִשְׁמַר and לִפְעֹל). At least 30:1-10 may well be a Deuteronomistic addition because it presupposes that Israel is already in Exile and anticipates the restoration.⁽⁷⁸⁾

78. See G.von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), pp. 183f.

Dt 31:9,11,12,24,26 belong to the context where the covenant ceremony is arranged on every Sabbatical year, in which the whole Deuteronomic law is read at the central sanctuary during the feast of booths: "Moses wrote this Torah and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi,... and to all the elders of Israel (v. 9)... at the place which he will choose, you shall read this Torah ... in the hearing (v. 11)... that they may hear and learn to fear the Lord (v. 12). When Moses finished writting... in the book to the very end ... (v. 26). The Torah is meant to be the book or code of Deuteronomy. The listening to the Torah, which is placed ^{inside} to the Ark side, 87 is linked to the fear of the Lord (31:12).

In Deut 32:46, which clearly has no connection with the preceding "Song of Moses", "all the words of this law" may, as elsewhere, be presumed to refer to the Deuteronomic legislation.

Dt 33:4 and 10 both occur in the "Blessing of Moses". The latter verse has already been discussed (above, p. 106). In the former, the verb צִוָּה "commanded" (NEB: "laid upon us") makes it most likely that Torah denotes a legislative corpus. If in the second part of the verse, מִן הַיִּרְשָׁה is rightly understood as "possession", then this is an interesting parallel (in sense though not ^tprecisely in terminology) to Ps 119:11: "Thy testimonies are my heritage for ever".⁽⁷⁹⁾

The characteristic Deuteronomic phrases are "all the words of this Torah" or "the words of this Torah" (וְכָל דְּבַר יְהוָה, 17:19; 27:3,8,26; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12,24; 32:46) which make their first appearance in Deuteronomy occurring nine times but elsewhere only twice in Nehemiah (8:9,13) and once each in Joshua (8:34), II Kg 23:24, and

79. It has been suggested that מִן הַיִּרְשָׁה should be pointed מִן הַיִּרְשָׁה, giving the sense "the assembly of Jacob is his inheritance", see G.A. Smith, Deuteronomy, p. 304, and BHS, app. crit., ad. loc.

Lindars presents a case for the understanding of Torah in Deuteronomy.⁽⁸⁰⁾ He observes that these phrases are rare and mostly confined to the editorial matter,⁽⁸¹⁾ and the term Torah is never used in the general sense within the laws of Deuteronomy, but is restricted to the editorial parts.⁽⁸²⁾ Lindars claims that since the term Torah was not the usual word for the legal code, and there was a well developed concept of law in the old Israel, the new term "Torah" was chosen by the Deuteronomic editor to express his new understanding of the law; and he said;

"The choice of Torah was to designate the whole corpus of the law code...as a single and complete entity...given by God through the mediation of Moses for men to ponder...as if the code is the instruction of a father to his son".

Lindars does not explain, however, how the law code could function as an instruction. Lindars points out that the plural form of Torah in Leviticus and Numbers, which is to be identified with the priestly Torah, given in answer to specific questions, is not found in Deuteronomy, where the singular, ~~is~~ used in a comprehensive sense, may be taken to refer not to particular precepts, but to the code "regarded as a single and complete entity ... given in response to the question 'how may we be assured of Yahweh's blessing?'"⁽⁸³⁾ Lindars maintains that the term Torah in this sense came into currency in the time of the Deuteronomist, and the editor's choice of the term was "as a result of growth in the range of meaning of the term itself", which

80. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", pp. 117-136.

81. Ibid., p. 117.

82. Ibid., p. 130f.

83. Ibid., p. 130.

now becomes the appropriate word for an idea which has previously been expressed in other ways".⁽⁸⁴⁾

However, Lindars does not explain many questions attached to his conclusion; such as 1) How can we explain so many earlier occurrences of Torah in the pre-Deuteronomic literature, which do not fall into the scheme of his thought? 2) How is the editors' choice of the term for his new understanding of Torah to be understood? 3) Again, how is the totality of the law-code-collection thought to function, as a single complete entity, as an instruction similar to that of a father to his son? 4) What is the relationship between the early pre-Deuteronomic use of the term and the editor's new idea of the term?

Lindars' answer to the question arises from his identification of the term "Torah" with the collection of the legal code, that is, he saw Torah as a term for the legal code. It is true that the collections of the priestly regulations (תִּוְרָה) are found among the legislative sections of the Pentateuch but Lindars does not take into account the sapiential influence upon the Deuteronomic editor's use of Torah as much as Jensen does in his study on Isaiah's use of the term.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Therefore, Lindars' hypothesis of three stages of the development of the Torah conception, that is, the priestly usage denoting instruction, the exilic usage denoting the work of the codification, and the post-exilic usage of Judaism denoting the religion of the book,⁽⁸⁶⁾ is proved to be too much of a simplification.

84. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 118.

85. Lindars acknowledged its influence but does not draw his conclusion from it; "the generalized notion of instruction as found in the wisdom literature, is closer to the Deuteronomic meaning than the priestly 'regulation in a answer to a question... inspite of the fact that Deuteronomy is a product of

Jensen suggests a possible justification in that Moses asserts that he had taught (לְמַדְתִּי) the prescriptions as commanded him by God, that keeping them will give evidence of the Israelites' wisdom and intelligence (חֵכְמָה וְיִבְיָנָה) in the eyes of their pagan neighbours, who will conclude that this is a wise and intelligent people (Dt 4:6).⁽⁸⁷⁾

To sum up, Lindars is right to see that the wisdom use of Torah was not the development of the post-exilic period, but the word had already wisdom connotations. But, the pre-exilic usage of Torah was not solely the priestly Torah. The use of Torah in the framework of Deuteronomy (1-4 and 27-32) is specially important for the great standardization of particular legislative tradition as von Rad states.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Deuteronomy took over the priestly and sapiential Torah conceptions, which so far had been individual instruction, applied them to the national life as it did with the principle of reward and retribution, and formulated a "national instruction" in order that the revelation of God's will toward Israel should be understood in terms of the covenantal bond of the Israelite tribal confederation in the pre-monarchical period. For this nationalization of Torah the Deuteronomist uses such phrases as "this Torah", "all this Torah" (Dt 1:5; 4:8; 17:18; 31:9,11; 32:46), "the words of this Torah" (Dt 17:19; 27:3,8,26; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12,24), "the book of this Torah" (Dt 28:61; 29:20; 30:10; 31:26), and "the Torah of Moses" or "the Torah which Moses set before you/Israel" (Dt 4:8,44; 31:9). Con-

(continued) priestly reformers"; B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 129; cf. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, pp. 171f.

86. B. Lindars, op. cit., p. 117.

87. J. Jensen, op. cit., p. 15, n. 50.

trary to the words for legal law in Deuteronomy (תּוֹרַת =20, תּוֹרַת =41, תּוֹרַת =32) Torah is directly related to Yahweh through a combination either with the divine name or with a pronominal suffix.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Because, Torah as of the Lord was common even before the Deuteronomy; "my Torah" in Ex 16:4,28; Hos 8:1,12; "Torah of Yahweh" in Ex 18:16; Am 2:4; Is 5:24; 30:9; "Torah of God" in Hos 4:6; Is 1:10; etc.

Dt 4:8, and 44f and 6:1 show that Torah comprises תּוֹרַת, תּוֹרַת, תּוֹרַת, תּוֹרַת of 5:1-26:16.⁽⁹⁰⁾ It also includes the curse-ratification of 28:16-19 (cf. 29:20), which is already confirmed in 27:3, 8,26. Just as in the Torah-psalms, the Torah in Deuteronomy has nothing to do with legalism.⁽⁹¹⁾

As we know, the Deuteronomic sermon and exhortation of Moses has a didactic purpose, the faithful obedience to the covenant in keeping and doing the statutes, the ordinances, and the testimonies, which are related to the covenantal law of blessings and curses as well as the Decalogue. In some cases it implies the judicial decision of the Levitical priests and judges. While the predominant Deuteronomic phrase is "the words of the Torah" (9=Dt, 2=Neh, 1=Josh, 1=Kgs, 1=Chs), the exclusively Deuteronomic phrase is "the book of the Torah" (סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת) which occurs 4 times in Deuteronomy, 5 in Joshua, 3 in Kings, and twice each in Nehemiah and II Chronicles, but does

88. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, p. 221.

89. G. Braulik, "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium" Biblica 51 (1970), p. 65.

90. G. Braulik, op. cit., pp. 64f; G. Liedke, Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentliche Rechtsätze, (WMANT 39), 1971, p. 185.

91. G. von Rad, op. cit., pp. 219-231.

not occur in the rest of the OT (Dt 28:61; 19:20; 31:26; 30:10; Josh 1:8; 8:31,34; 23:6; 24:26; Neh 8:3,18; 9:3; II Ch 17:9; 34:14f).

This indicates that the Deuteronomic Torah (Deuteronomic sermon) was already put down into a book, and the instruction of the book was considered as having the same quality as "the words of Yahweh" conveyed by the prophet, because the prophetic formula was coupled with Torah three times in Isaiah (2:3; 1:10; 5:24).

The characteristic Deuteronomistic phrase is "the Torah of Moses", which occurs three each in Joshua (8:31; 32:34; 23:6) and Chronicles (23:18; 25:4; 30:16), twice each in Kings (I Kg 2:3; II Kg 14:6) and Daniel (9:11,13), once each in Mal 3:22, Neh 8:1, and Ezr 3:2. The close tie of the Torah conception with the name of Moses is characteristic of the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's literature. Is this to be understood as the whole collection of Israel's customary and religious law, the whole body of Israel's legislation, or as some kind of sapiential instruction for the national life as God's will (Dt 17:18,28; 28:58,61; 29:19f)? This written Torah (instruction) has played a central role in the theology of the Deuteronomistic history work. The kings of Israel and Judah were judged by the Torah of Moses (I Kg 2:3; II Kg 10:31; 14:6; 21:8; 23:24f), and the people as well (Josh 1:7; 8:31ff; 22:5; 23:6; II Kg 17:13,34,37).⁽⁹²⁾

In Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history the Torah is often the object of the verbs שָׁמַר, עָשָׂה, הִלֵּךְ, עָרַב, צִוָּה, כָּתַב, וְיָדָה. Central to the Deuteronomistic writers is the finding of the Torah of Moses in the reign of king Josiah (II Kg 22:8,11; 23:24f).

92. cf. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, pp. 351ff; H.J. Kraus, "Gesetz und Geschichte: zum Geschichtsbild des Deuteronomisten", EvTh 11 (1951/52), pp. 412-428; R. Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker", in: Probleme biblischer Theologie, (FS G.von Rad), 1971, pp. 494-497.

This Torah of Moses for the Deuteronomist is the book of Deuteronomy.⁽⁹³⁾

A similar understanding of Torah is found in Jer 9:12, 16:11/26:47; 32:23; 44:10,23; as well as in the Deuteronomistic glosses in Ex 13:9; 16:4,28. As in Deuteronomy here also Torah is found parallel to תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה.

2. Torah as the Law Code

1) The Earlier Method of Presenting Laws : Now the question is whether the book of Deuteronomy is a law-book. Though the term Torah has been regarded as a law of some kind, and such designation is not quite a correct description to the content in ordinary sense of the term "law". Here we have to examine the nature of relationship between the meaning of the term "Torah" in Deuteronomy and its legal code of law.

Moses was thought of as the father of Israelite law, just as Solomon was considered to be the father of the Israelite wisdom. Hence, by extension, all the laws of Israel were attributed to him came to be termed as "the law of Moses". "Torah" originally was an individual precept and subsequently came to designate the totality of all the divine precepts in the Pentateuch (II Chronicles, Nehemiah, and certain psalms), and indeed, the Pentateuch as a whole.

However, the progress of the narrative in the Pentateuch is constantly interrupted by shorter or longer insertions; predominantly by series of laws; the Decalogues (Ex 20:2-17; Dt 5:6-21; Ex 34:11-26), books of laws (the Book of the Covenant in Ex 20:22-23:19, the Holiness Code in Lev 17-26, and the Deuteronomic Code in Dt 4:44-30:

93. M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I, Halle, 1943, p. 83, n. 3.

20), or priestly cultic ordinances (the law of sacrifice in Lev 1-7, the law of purity in Lev 11-15).

Today it is generally considered that the collections of simpler rules reflecting semi-nomadic conditions, and expressed in simpler literary forms are ⁶older than those of more developed, longer, generalized, and mixed literary type, reflecting settled conditions. Particular examples of the old legal corpora are the groups of five-unit sayings, in each case with the ending "shall surely be put to death" (Ex 21:12,15-17; 22:18f; 31:14f; Lev 20:2,9-16,27; 24:16; 27:29) and the groups of four-unit sayings, beginning with "cursed" (Dt 27:15-26).⁽⁹⁴⁾

An important distinction on the type of Israelite law was suggested by A. Alt.⁽⁹⁵⁾ According to Alt, Israelite law can be classified into two basic groups; the apodictic laws and the casuistic laws. The apodictic laws are those which contain a bare directive, formulated mostly in negative form, and without any punitive sanctions attached, i.e. "Thou shalt not steal", which is thought to be typically an Israelite law, and to which Alt ascribed those legal forms of prohibitions, positive command, death and curse formulae. The casuistic laws are formulated as hypothetical cases with "if", which we meet in the book of Covenant, and are to a large extent common to Israel and the surrounding peoples, and are believed to have been taken over from the Canaanites, and derived from legal decisions. However, this distinction has on the whole proved to be too inflexible to fit the facts, and with regard to the origin of the apodictic

94. O. Kaiser, Introduction to the OT, 1975, p. 54.

95. A. Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law", in: Essays on the OT History and Religion, 1966, tr. R.A. Wilson, pp. 79-132.

law has been questioned by Reventlow and Kilian.

Kilian has attempted to show that Apodictic law has non-Israelite (Egyptian) parallels, and so has questioned its hypothesis as a genuinely Israelite legal origin.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Weinfeld has referred to the Hittite instructions and corresponding commands of the Assyrian kings.⁽⁹⁷⁾

As to the origin of the apodictic law, Gerstenberger offers a new solution that the content of those apodictic clauses comprises sage rules; such as, the fathers of the tribes handed down to their sons by way of instruction in the context of the clan (Lev 18:20 may be an allusion to this), and the attribution of these to Yahweh would have been secondary.⁽⁹⁸⁾ A more far-reaching solution has been offered by W. Richter, who suggests that the designation "apodictic", which is derived from the content, should be abandoned, and that in its place the designation "prohibitive" (negative with \times^l), "vetitive" (negation with $l\times$), and "imperative" should be introduced.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Richter has established parallels between the content of the lists of "prohibitive" in the collections of law and the "vetitive" contained in the wisdom literature. From the aspect of the history of forms the "vetitives" belong to the sapiential exhortatory proverbs (Mahnspruch) which are always accompanied by a motivating clause. On the other hand in "prohibitive" such motivating clauses are always

96. R. Kilian, "Apodiktisches und kasuistisches Recht in Licht Ägyptischer Analogien", BZ NF (1963), pp. 185f.

97. M. Weinfeld, "The Origin of the Apodictic Law", VT 23 (1973), pp. 63ff.

98. E. Gerstenberger, Wesen und Herkunft des 'apodiktischen Rechts, (WMANT 20), 1965.

99. W. Richter, Recht und Ethos: Versuch einer Ortung des weisheitlichen Mahnspruch, (SANT 15), 1966.

secondary. Both forms are expression of an educational system, belonging to the upper classes. The "prohibitives" are collected into series on the basis of a common theme; such as, sexual taboo, grudges, judgement, commerce etc. It is not law or justice that is in question here but an ethos which in the "prohibitive" is applied to public and professional life. By contrast the "vetitive" of the wisdom literature is more concerned with interior motivation and the formation of disposition and character. Thus the prohibitive of the classical decalogue also embodies an ethos pertaining to the free male and property-owning class. They too are not concerned with judicial practice. The crimes listed are rather of a kind which cannot be brought home to the offender in the law-court. This ethos of the "prohibitives" covers the area of maintaining the social order which the judicial case-law is unable to cover. In later strata the earlier "prohibitive" is further developed by the addition of positive clauses; i.e., the commandment to love one's neighbour in Lev 19:18, and in "imperative" thus formed special value is attached to man's interior disposition and attitude. Even the casuistic clauses were not simply law from the start. "If thou..." clauses are not intended to prescribe for particular cases, but were rather the expression of reform movements of a socio-humanitarian ~~ism~~ kind. Therefore, the results of Richter's study demonstrate that these laws are lists of exhortations to the upper classes and property-owners in order to make them treat the humbler class (widows, orphans, strangers, and day labourers) justly, and to accord them due respect as members of society. 27

2) The Deuteronomic Use of Law : It is widely held that the oldest collections of laws in the OT are the Decalogues, ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ though

they are in slightly amended and expanded form.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The Decalogues are considered to be the stipulations of the original covenant between Yahweh and Israel, comparable to those of the Hittite vassal treaties.⁽¹⁰²⁾ They are called not $\text{p } \text{y} \text{y} \text{y}$, nor even Torah, but simply $\text{p' } \text{y} \text{y} \text{y}$. They are neither ethical norms nor expedients for the good ordering of society, but divine requirements for maintaining the covenant relationship. The two forms of the Decalogue in Ex 20 and Dt 5 are in the main identical, but different in some respects, e.g. the former gives as the reason for Sabbath observance God's rest on the seventh day of creation, whereas the latter refers to the rest of one's servants with a reminder of their past Egyptian bondage. The so-called Ritual Decalogue (Ex 34:12-26) does not provide an obvious and uncontested total of ten items and every enumeration is more or less arbitrary.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Not only the Decalogue (Dt 5:6-21) and Dodecalogue (Dt 27:15-26), but also their traces are found elsewhere (Dt 15:1; 16:19; 16:21-17:1 etc). In fact we can find plenty of examples of the two types of

100. H.H. Rowley, "Moses and the Decalogue", in: Men of God, Edinburgh and London, 1963, pp. 1-36; R. Nielsen, The Ten Commandments in New Perspective, (SBT 7), 1968, p. 139; A. Jensen, "Beiträge zur Auslegung und Geschichte des Dekalog", ZAW 79 (1967), pp. 277ff; W.H. Schmidt, "Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zur die Komposition des Dekaloges", in: SVT 22 (Uppsala congress volume, 1972), pp. 201; A.C.J. Philips, Ancient Israel's Criminal Law, Oxford, 1971,

101. J.J. Stamm, The Ten Commandments in Recent Research, tr. with additions by M.E. Andrew, London, 1967, p. 69; Although the criticizes attempts to derive the covenant from the Hittite vassal treaties, he recognizes the value of these treaties for comparative study.

102. cf. G. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, Pittsburg, 1955, p. 7; also, ANET, pp. 201-203.

103. W. Rudolph, Der 'Elohists' von Exodus bis Josua, Berlin, 1938, p. 59.

law, conditional and apodictic, in Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue differs only slightly from that of Ex 20:2-17, and is placed in the making of the covenant (=Ex 24). The language may reflect a liturgy of covenant renewal. While the Decalogue was given directly to the people (5:4f), the rest of the law (5:22-23) was mediated to the people through Moses (5:31; 4:14). These are directly linked to the Moses' sermonic appeal for doing God's will in the concrete situation of life, in which Moses is no mere legislator, but is a teacher and expositor of God's will.

As to the Book of Covenant, when we examine the legal part of Deuteronomy (12-26) a large part of the laws or maxims of the Book of Covenant (Ex 21-23), are incorporated.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The law on firstlings (Dt 15:19-23) begins with a proposition in apodictic form which is followed by an interpretation of the preceding regulation (vv. 23-26), which is not couched in objective legal language, but offers a more personal approach, a kind of sermon. The law on the year of release (Dt 15:1-11) also shows a similar feature. The old apodictic maxim is followed by a legal interpretation (v. 2) in judicial terms, and then by a further reinterpretation attached to the subsequent sermon (vv. 4-6). This trend towards exhortation is the characteristic of the Deuteronomic presentation of the law codes. These sermons provide factual explanations and directions for concrete action, but above all they are concerned with man's basic attitude towards the

104. Ex 21:1-11 in Dt 15:12-18; Ex 21:12-14 in Dt 19:1-13; Ex 21:16 in Dt 24:7; Ex 22:16f in Dt 22:28-29; Ex 22:25 in Dt 23:19-20; Ex 22:26f in Dt 24:10-13; Ex 22:29f in Dt 15:19-23; Ex 22:31 in Dt 14:8-21; Ex 23:1 in Dt 19:16-21; Ex 23:6-8 in Dt 16:18-20; Ex 23:4f in Dt 22:1-4; Ex 23:9 in Dt 24:17f; Ex 23:10f in Dt 15:1-11; Ex 23:12 in Dt 5:13-15; Ex 23:13 in Dt 6:13; Ex 23:14-17 in Dt 16:1-17; Ex 23:19a in Dt 26:2-10; Ex 23:19a in Dt 14:21b.

will of God. They are concerned to stir up the right spirit. They appeal to the intentions and conscience of each individual. The laws are made spiritual.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Therefore, it would be inappropriate to regard Dt 12-26 as simply a legal corpus, because the speaker endeavours to move from specific legal formulation towards pastoral exhortation. The homiletic trend is intensive throughout.

The relation between covenant and law, and between the cult and law is one of the most difficult parts of OT scholarship. Von Rad in his "The Form-critical Problem of the Hexteuch" has pointed out what the structure of the Sinai pericope in Ex 19-24, 32-34 and the structure of Deuteronomy have in common; each case is followed by a recital of the law, commitment to covenant, and conclusion of covenant or blessing and curses.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The law and covenant were identified in the work of Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomic school might have been responsible for the Sinai pericope which was originally a Shechemite covenant tradition. The law is thought to have been read at the central sanctuary to renew and commemorate Yahweh's covenant with Israel.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Possibly the essential cult object for the covenant renewal ceremony was the Ark of Yahweh, in which were perhaps preserved simply the laws of the covenant.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Weinfeld speculates on the possible link between the law and the treaty, pointing out the identical judicial and stylistic elements

105. G.von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), 1966, p. 27f.

106. idem, The Problem of Hexteuch and Other Essays, tr. E.W. Truman Dicken, 1965, pp. 1ff.

107. M. Noth, Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels, Darmstadt, 1966, idem, History of Israel, tr. P.R. Ackroyd, 1958, 1960, pp. 100ff; W. Eichrodt, Theology of the OT, tr. J.A. Baker, I, 1961, pp. 70ff.

108. cf. P. Volz, Mose und sein Werk, 1932, pp. 100ff;

between the Esharhaddon treaty and Deuteronomy. The framework of an admonitory sermon in Dt 4:1-40; 30:15-20; 31:27ff and the curses in 27:15-26 are similar to the framework of all Babylonian law codes, such as, Urnammu, Lipit-Ishtar, Hammurabi, which are structurally similar treaty; that is, the historical prologue, laws, and blessings and curses. The law and covenant became combined in the Decalogue; 1-3 commandments are vassal types, and 4-10 are legislative types, and this mixture of covenant law is pre-Deuteronomic.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ In Deuteronomy itself the treaty pattern and the law-code pattern are also combined. But, still there is not enough evidence to carry the weight of the hypothesis of the proclamation of the law in the ancient Israelite covenant festival. Final judgements have not yet been passed on the relationship between covenant and law, and between cult and law.

But, the casuistic form of law is likely to be a collection possibly from the time of the tribal confederacy, or perhaps at the time of the monarchy,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ and as Alt has maintained, much of its contents are taken over from Canaanite law.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Since the covenant code is not called *תּוֹרַת* nor Torah, but *פְּסָקִים* (ordinances in 21:1), it is the promulgation of the *בִּשְׁפָּט*, the officer of the tribal union who is responsible for the maintenance of the covenant.⁽¹¹²⁾ This would presumably have taken place at the covenant renewal ceremony.

109. M. Weinfeld, "Law Code and Treaty", in: Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School, 1972, p. 157.

110. O. Eissfeldt, The OT: An Introduction, pp. 212-219.

111. A. Alt, "The Origin of Israelite Law", in: Essays on OT History and Religion, tr. R.A. Wilson, 1966, pp. 79- 132.

112. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 124.

The question of the relationship between Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code is baffling, but because of their pronounced parenetic character the Holiness Code stands nearer to Deuteronomy than does the Priestly document.⁽¹¹³⁾ The content of the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26) has social ^Trules (Lev 6:2-7; 19:3a,11,12-18,20-22,32,33-36; 20:9,10-21; 24:17-22; 25:35-55; Num 5:5-8; 21:8-11; 31:26-30; 33:6,9-34 and 36). Its main themes are on the blood of slaughtered animals, (17), sexual intercourse (18), neighbour (19), penalty for unchastity (20), priest (21:1-22:16), sacrifice (22:17ff), land (26), and blessings and curses (26). According to Graf Reventlow⁰ the Holiness Code had its original context also in the ancient Israelite covenant festival, starting from a decalogue in Lev 19,⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and underwent successive development to its present state; a sermon or preaching on the law, which reflects parenetic preaching.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ According to Elliger, the Holiness Code was intended for insertion as a law-giving element into the Priestly writing which otherwise would be exclusively concerned with technical details of cult.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The relationship of the Holiness Code to Deuteronomy has been evaluated in various ways in recent discussions from which no consensus has emerged.

The correspondences of subject matter between Holiness Code and Deuteronomy are: the various offerings and sacrifices (12:6-7=Lev 1-7 and 27), slaughtering and eating the blood (12:23-24=Lev 17:10-11,

113. G.von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, tr. David Stalker, 1953, p. 25.

114. H.G. Reventlow, Das Heiligkeitgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht, (WMANT 6), 1961, p

115. idem, Wächter Über Israel: Ezechiel und ^eswine Tradition, (BZ AW 82), 1962, p. 124.

116. K. Elliger, Leviticus, (HAT 1), 1966, p. 16.

1-9), clean food (14:3-21=Lev 11:2-23), festal calendars (16:1-17=Lev 23), sexual relations (14:13-30=Lev 18:1-30), child sacrifice (18:10 cf. Lev 18:21; 20:2-5), humanitarian love-of-neighbour ethics (24:19-22=Lev 19:9-10), sacred prostitution (24:14-15; 23:17-18=Lev 19:13-19), instruction to the priests (16:9-13; 18:1-8=Lev 21:1-24), the offering of the first fruits (26:5-10=Lev 23:9-14), the Sabbatical year (15:1-11=Lev 25:25:1-55), legislation about slave (15:12-18=Lev 29:40; 25:39-55), the loan for interest (15:1-11=Lev 25:35,38), and the disobedient son (27:16; 21:18-21=Lev 20:9).

Unlike Deuteronomy, the instruction of the Holiness Code continually alternates between the community and the priest in a form of an utterance of God and not of an address of Moses. The general formal admonition to keep the commandments on sexual matters, killing of animals, specific sacrificial acts, eating blood (Lev 18), the high ethical demands (Lev 19), and the rest are for the most part teaching for the community in parenetic form, which is based on various older statutes, the various apodictic commandments, which according to von Rad⁽¹¹⁷⁾ were obviously preserved in pure form by the Deuteronomist. Nonetheless the Holiness Code is very closely akin to Deuteronomy. To sum up, the characteristics of the Deuteronomic law are:

1. Its proclamation of the law is not a colourless enumeration of legal standards, but exhortation or sermon. Its demand is based on the action of God, and the teaching about law is first of all teaching about God's activity.
2. The law in Deuteronomy is more interested in ethics than in ritual. The ethical interest of the country Levites was seemed to be greater than the Jerusalem leaders.

117. K. Elliger, Leviticus, (HAT 1), 1966, p. 35.

3. The principal object of the law is to show the obligation to one's neighbour, and its motive is not humanitarianism, but the right ordering of the people of God. The relation to a fellow-Israelite as "brother" plays a special role in the Deuteronomic code (15:2f, 7, 9, 11f; 19:18f, etc) as does the obligation of love (6:5; 7:9; 10:12).
4. The purpose of the law is to shape up the people of God. Observation of the law means full enjoyment of the promised land, and violation of the law means the withdrawal of this gift.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

3) The Various Terms for Legal Code in Deuteronomy : i) $\pi \cdot \rho \pi$: In the later codes we frequently come across $\rho \pi$ (D) or $\pi \rho \pi$ (P). In the early literature $\rho \pi$ signified enactment by a person in authority in response to a situation which demanded his decision, e.g. I Sam 30:25; Gen 47:26; Judg 11:39. The meaning "decision" might seem to apply to $\rho \pi$ as to $\eta \eta \dot{\iota} \dot{\alpha}$, but it would be reasonable to suggest that $\pi \rho \pi$ originally meant an enactment for the good ordering by the person who is in authority. The meaning of $\rho \rho \pi$ ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ is to "cut in" which implies that the original usage was in connection with a carving enactment on stone slabs for the sake of permanence. This explains why $\rho \pi$ often carries with it the idea of an unchangeable decree being frequently combined with $\pi \dot{\iota} \gamma$ (cf. Job 38:10, 33; Prov 8:29).⁽¹²⁰⁾ In a few places where $\rho \pi$ occurs in a covenant ceremony, it was accompanied by $\psi \psi \pi$ (Josh 24:25; Ex 15:25). It is possible that $\psi \psi \pi \rho \pi$ is a hendiadys, i.e. an enactment which has abiding force.⁽¹²¹⁾ This also suggests a reason why the word is so rare,

118. G.von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, p. 98; H. Kleinknecht-W. Gutbrot, Law, tr. M. Barton, 1962, pp.33f.

119. "Prescribed task" (Ex 5:14), "portions of food" (Gen 47:22; Prov 30:8; 31:15; Ezk 16:27; Job 23:12), "due portion of offering for the priests" (Lev 6:11; 10:12-14; 6:15; Ex 29:28; Lev 7:34; 10:15; Num 18:8, 11, 19; Lev 24:9; Ezk 45:14).

although it appears later to be synonymous with other words for law.

ii) עֲדָוָה or עֲדָוָה : This is another word for law. Its meaning is derived from the primary idea of witness. The covenant stipulations are laws to which due witness has been given (Josh 24:27). By a common semantic development the word passes over from the act of witnessing to the content of that which is witnessed, i.e. the laws themselves. The Ark is עֲדָוָה אֲרוֹן , because it contains the objects to which witness has been given, the stone tablets of the Decalogue. II Kg 11:12 may refer to the legal document in connection with the covenant aspect of the coronation of a king. (122)

iii) דֶּרֶךְ : Both cultic practice and general standards of conduct are generally referred as דֶּרֶךְ , the way (Am 8:14; Is 2:3; Ps 25:8-12; 27:11; 32:8; 86:11). The promulgation of direction given by the priests could have been likened to with the road to be followed. (123) The legal code was conceived in many ways: physical law regarding the phenomena of nature, moral law regarding the relationships between persons, and legal law regarding the rule of conduct enforced by community. The essential elements of the law code are order, relationship, and regularity. (124) The term truth and life are always associated with the law, which is defined as the way. (125) The Torah

120. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 1 and 27.

121. Ibid., p. 127.

122. J. Gray, I & II Kings, (OTL), London, 1954; R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel: its Life and Institutions, tr. J. Mchugh, London; 1961, p. 102; De Vaux quotes an inscription of Thothmes III for a formal protocol containing the kings obligations.

123. The relationship between law and the path throws a light on the OT roots of the word of Jesus "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6).

124. H.Ch. Brichto, "The Case of Soṭa and a Reconsideration of Biblical Law", HUCA 46 (1975), p. 55.

is often associated with הלך (to walk) (Ex 16:4; Is 2:3; 30:21; 42:24; Jer 9:12; 26:4; 32:25; 44:10,23; Zech 7:12; Neh 1:16-30; Ps 119:1; Dan 9:10).

The way in which the OT law codes are presented is rather subordinate to the intention of the framework. As we have noted in the Decalogues (עשרת הדיברות), commandments are presented in the setting of the secondary element of the divine requirement in covenant relationship. The lack of formal unity implies that the list of requirements in the short form of law was joined with the particular character of faith in Yahweh. The section Dt 12-26 and 28 (משפטים) also show more interest in God's action and demand in its sermonic style than colourless expedients for ordering society. Its ^aaim is to present the true way of life and worship for God's people. The same is true of the Holiness Code. Its principal purpose is to apply the requirements of holiness to the people of God. The terms for law, חוק and מצוה belong to the priestly context. The term Torah does not appear in the lists of laws; other words for law are available, such as, $\text{דבר, מצוה, מעט, ערות, חק}$.

The subjectmatter of Torah (instruction) may be the code of law (since the law code follows the exhortation), but the basis of instruction, the basis of demand, is not the law code. In other words, the term Torah is not a term for a particular law code along with others, such as, $\text{חק, דבר, פקוד, מעט, מצוה, ערות}$, not even for the instruction on the law code. The exhortation to keep or observe the legal code in Deuteronomy is based on something else.

125. E. Jacob, Theology of Old Testament, tr. A.W. Heathcote-P.J. Allcock, 1964, 3rd ed., p. 271.

3. Torah as Historical Instruction

If our previous discussion is right and the subject matter of Torah is not primarily the laws, the next question is what would be the basis of the Deuteronomic instruction. In other words, on what basis the Deuteronomic instruction (exhortation and demand) rest. Then the historical survey of Deuteronomy, which occupies a major proportion of it, must come to our attention.

1) The Deuteronomic Knowledge of the JE History : A conservative state of mind is source of tradition which preserves laws and customs in the forms of accounts of war, ceremonial inscriptions, record of buildings, names of heroes, etc. Especially the capacity for a wider range of historical thinking and for the unified orderly presentation of history were characteristic of the ancient Hebrew mind. The historical thinking of the Israelites was a part of the national consciousness. Their earliest enquiry into their origin can be seen in the aetiological legends. The tribal aetiological legends (Gen 9:15-27), the condition of the Ishmaelites (Gen 16), Ammon and Moab (Gen 19:30ff), Edom (Gen 27), provide a historical answer. These are an earliest forms of expression of historical thinking. Primeval aetiology concerning man's labour and the anguish of child-birth (Gen 3:16ff) and on race and language (Gen 11:1f) are treated also as a matter of history. It is generally agreed that even before the exile in 587 BC, the Yahwistic and Elohistic sources ("J" and "E") "JE" were united to form a combined historical record in which the main thread remained in "J" with "E" used only as a supplement, which in turn at the later stage, was inserted into the Priestly writing, and finally the resulting historical narrative dovetailed with the Deuteronomistic history.

Von Rad is certainly right to find in the Yahwist the spirit of the Davidic-Solomonic epoch, which influenced his understanding of reality;⁽¹²⁶⁾ that is, his mode^{of} narrative presentation, describing unusual events as resulting from the intervention of God with no gap in the chain of causality. As Köhler puts it, "history is under God's management...all history has its source in God, and takes place for God".⁽¹²⁷⁾

The motive of retribution secretly at work in history is the author's theology of history. God's dealing with man is kept very much in the background; yet it is a history of divine guidance, bringing everything to a right and conclusion. Yet, this blossoming of history writing must have owed much to secular influences. An intensive interchange of intellectual ideas as a result of Solomon's large scale commercial relationship with distant lands must have formed the background of this history writing. The court was a centre of international wisdom-lore, marking a period of "enlightenment" in the history of the Israelites.

In comparison to "J" "P" "D", the "E" stratum has often been a neglected element in the Pentateuch. Its extent is small, and the information regarding its background is scarce. Volz claims that "E" was only a fragment to supplement the "J" text at certain points, and Smend even leaves open the possibility of its appearance in Judah after 722 BC.⁽¹²⁸⁾ But, Wolff asserts that the Elohist fragments in the Pentateuch point toward an originally independent documentary source, with its own style and message.⁽¹²⁹⁾ According to Soggin,

128. R. Smend, Die Entstehung des AT, (TW 1), Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1978, pp. 86f; who dates "E" strata just before the fall of the Northern Kingdom; P. Volz-W. Rudolf, Der Elohist als Erzähler: ein irreweg der Pentateuch-Kritik? (BZAW 63), Giessen, Töpelmann, 1933.

126. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, pp. 36ff.

127. L. Köhler, Old Testament Theology, tr. A.S. Todd, 1957, p.93

there is no particularly anti-Canaanite or orthodox Israelite features in "E" strata,⁽¹³⁰⁾ and Jenks detected the prophetic nature of the "E" writing.⁽¹³¹⁾ The motif of obedience (Gen 22), the condemnation of Jeroboam's cult as related to the primal apostasy of Israel at Sinai (Ex 31:1-10), the clinging to the amphictyonic ideal of the covenant league, and closer parallels between the historical background and the development of prophecy are the basis for him to think that the "E" school was either a prophetic or prophetic Levitical group of the northern kingdom.⁽¹³²⁾ G. Wallis explains that "E" puts more emphasis on obedience than cult, thereby presenting ethical decalogue (Ex 20:1-17) rather than "J"'s cultic decalogue.⁽¹³³⁾ SchÜphaus saw that "E"'s work is essentially a history of the people of God,⁽¹³⁴⁾ because "E"'s law is the Lebensordnung determined by God.⁽¹³⁵⁾ He placed "E" before Amos, because he saw no direct relationship to the fearing of God.⁽¹³⁶⁾

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129. H.W. Wolff, "The Elohists Fragments in the Pentateuch", Interpretation 26 (1972), p. 161. This basic outlook is reflected in standard introductions; G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the OT, 1959, pp. 35-37; A. Weiser, The OT: Its Formation and Development, 1961, pp. 111-125; O. Eissfeldt, The OT: an Introduction, 1965, pp. 200-204; G. Fohrer, Introduction to the OT, 1968, pp. ; O. Kaiser, Introduction to the OT, 1975, pp. 91-102; B.W. Anderson, Understanding the OT, 1975, 3rd ed., pp. 207-270.
130. J.A. Soggin, "Ancient Israelite Poetry and Ancient 'Codes' of Law and the Source 'J' and 'E' of Pentateuch", (Congress Vol.: Edinburgh), SVT 28 (1975), pp. 194-195.
131. A.W. Jenks, The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions, (Harvard University Dissertation), Cambridge, 1965; and also the summary in HTR 58 (1965), p. 455.
132. A.W. Jenks, The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions, p. 167. 168, 252, 455.
133. G. Wallis, "Die Sesshaftwerdung Alt-Israels und das Gottesdienstverständnis des Jahwisten im Lichte der elohistischen Kritik", ZAW 83 (1971), pp. 1-15.
134. J. SchÜphaus, "Volk Gottes und Gesetz beim Elohisten", TZ 31 (1975), pp. 193-210.

Wolff asserts that the fear of Yahweh aspect is the most prominent theme of the Elohist. The point of the story is to test the fear of God in both Abraham and Abimelek (Gen 20:8,11), in the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22), in stories of the Joseph and of the midwives (Ex 1:15-21), and in Moses' fearing to look at God's face (Ex 3:6). At Sinai the people learn from Moses that God has come to test them so that the "fear of Him may do its work on you" (Ex 20:20b).⁽¹³⁷⁾ Against Wolff, Schüpphaus claims that the fear of God is only a characteristic aspect of "E", and not his proper theological stance, which according to him, is that of a law-community which is oriented towards the divine Rechtsordnung.⁽¹³⁸⁾ But, "E"'s use of the fear of God displays a definite orientation and reveals a fundamental moral order, which exerted much influence upon Deuteronomy. For "E" the fear of God is not only the keeping of the moral order, but also a recognition of the fact that the God of the covenant has the right to demand everything.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Ruppert says that the ^asim of both testings, that of Abraham in Gen 22 and that of the people of God in Sinai in Ex 20:20, is that the fear of God may keep man from sinning, which "E" develops in his Kerygma. For "E", therefore, every testing of God's people should show the fear of God in the one tested (Gen 22:12), and negatively the fear of God is "not sinning"

135. J. Schüpphaus, "Volk Gottes und Gesetz beim Elohisten", p. 203.

136. Ibid., p. 205-206.

137. H.W. Wolff, "Elohistic Fragments in the Pentateuch", Interpretation 26 (1972), pp. 161-166.

138. J. Schüpphaus, op. cit., p. 194 and 206.

139. L. Derousseaux, "La crainte de Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament", LD 63 (1970), Paris, pp. 172f; cf. J.E. Craghan, "Elohist and Recent Literature", BibThB 7 (1977), p. 7.

(Ex 20:20), positively it is obedience.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

K. Jaros examined the "E" passages to uncover "E"'s interpretation against the background of Canaanite religion,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ and he concludes that "E"'s rejection of the Canaanite religion is not as radical and total as that of Hosea,⁽¹⁴²⁾ and therefore, it is to be placed in the first half of the eighth century BC.⁽¹⁴³⁾ This "E" theology exercised considerable influence upon the composition of Deuteronomy.

The Joseph story occupies a unique position in the Pentateuch, being loosely connected to the other patriarchal episodes. It gives a planned composition, and is thought to be a blending of both "J" and "E" with a minimal of "P". Ruppert sees that "E" shaped the Joseph story as a story of hope for a reunion of north and south after the manner of Joseph and his brothers.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Von Rad saw it as a didactic wisdom story of the 10th century BC for an ideal administrator and model of all the most highly esteemed virtues.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ G. W. Coats acknowledges the wisdom dimension, but seemingly does not

140. J.E. Craghan, "Elohist and Recent Literature", p. 27.

141. K. Jaros, Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanischen Religion, (Orbi Biblicus et Orientalis 4), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974; under the topics of dreams, Sinai theophany, teraphim, standing stones, holy trees, the bronze serpent, human sacrifice, the golden calf, and Baal peor.

142. Ibid., p. 57.

143. Ibid., p. 68; for example, in Num 21 "E" sees the serpent as a symbol of Yahweh's healing power. It is an influence from the Canaanite conception of the serpent as a symbol of life.

144. L. Ruppert, Die Josepherzählung der Genesis, (SANT 2), Munich, Kösel, 1965, pp. 229-230; idem, "Göttliche und menschliche Handeln Form und Inhalt der Josephsgeschichte", 1966, pp. 1-36.

145. G. von Rad, "The Joseph Narrative and Ancient Wisdom", in: The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, 1965, 1966, pp. 292-300; idem, Wisdom in Israel, 1972, pp. 46-47, 280; also idem, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, pp. 172-173, 316, 431, 454.

see any clear evidence for an "E" version of the Joseph story,⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ though he does not categorically dismiss the reality of source distinction in textual analysis,⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ and Whybray also denies the blending theory of "JE" sources, noting that a novel of such excellent calibre could hardly be a conflation of two sources.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ At any rate, this is a clear example that history is shaped by the interest of wisdom instruction.

2) A Sermon Drawn from History : L. Köhler raised the question of the form-critical category of Dt 4:1,6-8, "Who is it who speaks thus, so broadly, so much from the heart, warning, promising, presupposing good intentions, repeating again and again what is well known, ethical and religious alike?" Köhler answers his own question, saying that it is neither the prophets (who speaks more tersely and profoundly) nor the popular speaker (who speaks less religiously) but the preacher, and that we have here the sermon which, following on the prophets, appeared in Judah in the seventh century and is found in the introductions to Deuteronomy, the framework to Judges and the amplifications to Jeremiah. Its aim "is always the education of the people of Judah to zeal for the statutes of God".⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

The literary character of Deuteronomy is almost entirely that of an extensive address by Moses: Deuteronomy consists of seven addresses purporting to have been delivered at the close of the wilder-

146. Yet, as a whole, Coatz, Whybray, Craghan are tended to doubt on the existence of "E" source strata. J.E. Craghan rather implies the possibility of the redactor of JE as Elohist; J. E. Craghan, "Elohist and Recent Literature", p.33.

147. G.W. Coatz⁵, "The Joseph Story and Ancient Wisdom, A Reappraisal", CBQ 35 (1973), pp. 285-297.

148. R.N. Whybray, "The Joseph Story and Pentateuchal Criticism", VT 18 (1968), pp. 522-528.

ness wanderings and before the crossing of Jordan. The address of Moses begins with a major historical review (1:1-3:29), in which Moses rehearses the events since the departure from Horeb (Sinai), in order to show how the Lord marveleously guided this people in the wilderness: from Egypt to the northern limit of David's empire (1:7), but mainly from Horeb to Kadesh (1:19-46), and from Kadesh via the Edomite and Moabite wilderness towards the Amorite kingdom of Sihon with the allotment of tribal territories in Transjordan (3:12-22). In the conclusion to the first address (4:1-40) it is made clear that the preceding recital of what the Lord has done for his people is the basis of Moses' appeal for faithful obedience to God's law, which is the condition for life in Canaan and a testimony to Israel's wisdom (4:6).

The second speech of Moses (5:1-26:19) is the major body of Deuteronomic law code, introduced by a hortatory and expository section (5-11). With a typical Deuteronomic phrase "hear", which indicates its sermonic nature of the content, the author interprets Israel's covenantal responsibilities. Here Moses appears not as a mere legislator but as a teacher or expositor of God's will (5:23-27; cf. 1:5) who explains the statutes and the ordinances. In 6:20-27 the author reminds his readers to teach the children the marveleous history of God's redeeming acts for Israel, which provide the background and basis of the law.

The election theology of Deuteronomy, that is, the concept of a holy people to be separated from other nations for service to God, is not based upon Israel's greatness or goodness, but upon God's his-

149. L. Kühler, "Justice in the Gate", in: Hebrew Man, tr. P.R. Ackroyd, p. 168.

torical action of love of Israel and of faithfulness to his promise made to the patriarchs (7:6-16).

In 8:1-20 Moses again warns Israel not to forget the wilderness lesson of complete dependence upon God's mercy. He appeals to Israel's memory that in the wilderness God cared for his people daily (8:1-10). The history is reviewed and interpreted to humble Israel's pride. In 9:6-24 again the historical record appears to show that Israel has been rebellious ever since the Exodus. 10:6-9 also show that the author quotes from a wilderness itinerary. 10:12-11:32 is the climax and conclusion of the historical review found in 8 and 9:1-10:11, and confirms that God's gracious dealings form the background and presupposition of his requirements. Even the review of the early tradition concerning the revolt of Dathan and Abiram (11:1-26; cf. Num 16)⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ does the same. The third address (29:1-30:20) warns of the disastrous consequences of disobedience. The noticeable fact is that, as in the other address, Moses exhorts Israel to renew the covenant and that exhortation also is based on a recital of the Lord's mighty acts (29:2-9). Even the Deuteronomic regulation on holy war (20:1-20) is rooted in the ancient wilderness experience, which provides the basis for the Deuteronomic understanding of the conquest (2:33-35; 3:3-7, 18-22; 7:1-5; 11:22-25). The premise is that holy war is not a human enterprise, but God's engagement.

The major themes of the Deuteronomistic tradition concerning the mighty acts of God is well summed up in an ancient credal form in Dt 26:5-10 as manifested primarily in Exodus and the conquest of Canaan. Did the Deuteronomistic author know only the history of Israel in the wilderness? There is a series of passages which show the author's

150. In which Korah's rebellion is not mentioned; cf. Num 16:1-11.

knowledge of the patriarchal history (1:9-11,34; 4:37; 6:16; 8:18; 9:27; 10:11,22), the history of the Exodus (1:27,30; 4:34,37; 6:21-23; 7:8,19; 8:14; 9:7,13,26; 10:19; 11:2,4), the history of the conquest (1:38; 2:33-35; 3:3-7,18-22; 6:23; 7:1-2; 10:8-12; 11:22-25), and as well as the Horeb tradition (1:6; 4:15,33; 5:2,4; 9:8-21).

Not only by historical review, but by direct statement the author bases his instruction upon his historical theology:

Ask now of the days that are past, which were before you since the day that God created man upon the earth (Dt 4:32). And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not (8:2). That he might make you know man does not live by bread alone, but that man lives by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord (8:3). Know then in your heart that as a man disciplines his son, the Lord your God disciplines you. So you shall keep the commandments of the Lord your God, by walking in his ways and by fearing Him (8:5-6).

The fact that the Deuteronomic rehearsal of history is confined only to part of the wilderness journey might be explained by his basic theology of the holy war on the eve of the conquest. The whole story of the Exodus, wilderness journey, and invasion of Canaan is governed by the convictions about holy war: the Lord will fight for his people, which testifies that he is the Lord of history. This historical instruction, the blocks of sermon, are linked to legal maxims. For the author of Deuteronomy the ancient tradition from Israel's great past seems to have possessed almost the same validity as canonical law. Not only the legal tradition but also the historical events had significance as a standard for the present day (4:12; 8:3; 17:16; 18:15f; 23:4; 24:9).

Many of the stories of Deuteronomy are found also in "JE" (1:9-18=Num 11 and Ex 18; Dt 1:20-40=Num 13-14; Dt 2:2-7=Num 20:14-21;

Dt 2:26-33=Num 21:21-31; Dt 3:18-32=Num 32; Dt 3:23-28=Num 20:12; 27:12), which has been thought to imply literary dependence; but the many and significant differences have led von Rad to conclude that the Deuteronomic narrator is dependent on a source which gave a shorter account of the events than JE and which is no longer extant.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

History is the record of what one age finds worthy of note in another.⁽¹⁵²⁾ The past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present; to understand the past and to improve the present are the dual functions of history.⁽¹⁵³⁾ The author of Deuteronomy looks back to the past to explain the essential question of "why do we have to follow the instruction?"⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ History is the tradition which is handed down and carries the lessons of the past into present and future. Records of the past are seen for the benefit of present and future generations. Besides the question "why", the Deuteronomist also asks the question "whither?" The belief that we are going somewhere. One's view of history reflects his view of society.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

A conservative state of mind is the basis for tradition, and the historian evaluates traditions from the past in totality. He clarifies the relationship between cause and effect, and seeks to discern of the future. Through history the dead past comes alive and becomes a living past. As a man who loses his memory becomes little better than a vegetable, likewise a people who lose their his-

151. G.von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), 1966, pp. 38f.

152. J. Burchhardt, Judgement on History and on Historians, 1959, p. 158.

153. E.H. Carr, What is History, Cambridge: Pelican Book, 1961, p. 55.

154. Ibid., p. 86.

155. Ibid., p. 132.

tory become a spiritless people. A historical sense includes an acute perception of the reality of one's situation and a particular form of causational thinking on the problem of historical existence in an irrevocable time-sequence.

If sapiential Torah is based upon and drawn from the experience of the individual, the Deuteronomic instruction might be said to have been based on the collective experience of the Hebrew people in their wilderness wandering. The Deuteronomist evaluated the tradition in terms of the people of God, making an effective contrast between God's mighty salvation and the continuous failure of the people, and he points in the direction of obedience in love of God and of man. Deuteronomy commands that the fathers should instruct their sons in the saving history (cf. 6:7,20ff), in its preaching of the law he keeps on returning to this history. Election precedes all observance of the law. Deuteronomy demands a simple straight-forward response to God's preceding saving activity.

The recital of what the Lord had done for his people is the basis of Moses' appeal for faithful obedience. Moses' farewell address is not just the repetition of law, but rehearses the mighty acts of the Lord, warning the temptations of new ways of Canaan, and pleads for loyalty to the love of God as the condition for life in the promised land. Thus the Deuteronomic Code is by the sermonic double prologue given a quite distinct religious meaning by being related to the Heilsgeschichte and a quite distinct motivation by being related to the love of God. Clearly Torah is here something other than mere legislation. It is instruction which is rooted in the saving action of Yahweh and in his providence, his election of people, land and sanctuary and his covenant.

THE EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC TORAH

1. Torah in the Exilic Literature

1) Jeremiah : Jer 2:8, the judgement on Israel's apostasy, suggests four classes of leaders in Israel: the priests, the Torah-handlers, the rulers, and the prophets. Here the Torah-handlers are probably the Levitical scribes whose activity is related to the written Torah.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ In 6:19, it is said that the people have disregarded Yahweh's "words" and rejected his Torah. This is reminiscent of Is 1:10 (on which see above, p. 94ff.) and may refer to prophetic revelation and divine instruction in a quite general sense, but some have thought that Torah here refers specifically to the Deuteronomic teaching.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ In Jer 8:8f reference is made both to the Torah (claimed to be 'of Yahweh'), which has been falsified, and to the word of Yahweh, which has been despised. Clearly "Torah" here refers to written law. Some have held that the Deuteronomic Code is meant, others that Jeremiah is attacking some other legal document, which he regards as a fabrication.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ For our present purpose it is noteworthy that possession of Torah is equated with wisdom (cf. Dt 4:6), and that, whatever the identity of the Torah referred to, it is a written document. In Jer 16:11 gives Torah as the theological reason for Israel's sin of disloyalty to Yahweh, the sin for which they suffered. Here the Torah could be either written Torah or an oral tradition expressing the covenantal law. Jer 18:18 suggests that

156. W. Gutbrod, "The Meaning of Torah", in: Law, 1962, p. 1045; J.P. Hyatt, "Torah in the Book of Jeremiah", JBL 60 (1941), p. 386; J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p. 20. All agree that they are not prophets.

157. See, e.g. J. Bright, Jeremiah, (AB), 1965, pp. 48, 50.

the Torah was transmitted by the priests. In Jer 26:4f there is a reference to both Torah and the words of the prophets.

In Jer 31:33 using the old covenant-making expression, "I will be their God and they shall be my people", Jeremiah affirms that God will make a new covenant (32:38-40) inscribed on the heart of men (Jer 17:1; cf, Ezk 11:19; Hos 2:20). Much doubt has been expressed about this being composition of a late Jewish legalist. But its deuteronomistic tone and its emphasis on covenant⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ are compatible with its being an authentic Jeremianic oracle, using the thought forms of his own time and expressing his thought in an antithesis between the external law, the written Torah, and the inward moral sense informed by the true knowledge of God.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ So, the meaning "instruction" would be the proper one for this use of Torah.

In Jer 32:23 the author once again puts "voice" and Torah in parallel. The two phrases, "did not obey thy voice" and "(did not) walk in thy law" are presumably synonymous expressions for disobedience to the will of Yahweh, Torah being used in a general sense.

2) Lamentations : Lam 2:9, "The Torah is no more, and her prophets obtain no vision from the Lord". The common interpretation⁽¹⁶¹⁾ is that this ought to be understood as referring to the priestly instruction. This has been recently challenged by O. Kaiser, who claims that it refers to the function of the king and the prince:

158. See J. Bright, Jeremiah, (AB), 1965, pp. 63f; W. Rudolph, Jeremia, (HAT 2nd ed.), 1958, pp. 57f; A Bentzen, Die josianische Reform und ihre Voraussetzungen, p. 102, n. 4; J. Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, 1922, pp. 103ff; A.S. Peake, The Book of Jeremiah, (Century Bible), vol. I, 1910, p. 160.

159. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p. 21.

160. J. Paterson, "Jeremiah", Peake's Commentary, 1964, p. 556.

161. W. Rudolf, Das Buch Ruth, Das Hohelied, Die Klagelieder, (KAT 17/1-4), 1962, p. 219.

Die Feststellung der Abwesenheit des Königs und ihrer Fürsten und die folgende Aussage über das Fehlen der Thora müssen, wie die Verbindung von Propheten und Offenbarung im nächsten Verse zeigt, aufeinander bezogen werden. Man hat also keinerlei Grund, die Thora an unserer Stelle mit den Priestern in Verbindung zu bringen und eine Anspielung auf ihre Katastrophe zu finden. Die Weisung geht hier von dem Könige und seinen Fürsten aus. (162)

This is not convincing, however, as a refutation of the current notion.

What is said about the king and the princes is that they are exiles, captives among the nations, and of the prophets that they obtain no vision from Yahweh. In addition to these parallel statements, it

is furthermore said $\text{אֲנִי הָיִיתִי בְּיָמָיו}$, and it still seems most reasonable to take this clause as in a way parallel with the two others, referring to a third group, the priests (cf. Jer 18:18; Ezk 7:2; Mic 3:

11).⁽¹⁶³⁾ The attention is shifted to the people. All the important people are either gone or not functioning, i.e. the priests who normally have supplied the "instruction" (Torah) are absent. Therefore, the phrase should be taken separately as an allusion to the duty of the priest.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Jensen observes that the two expressions

in Jer 26:4f, ($\text{לֵלֶכֶת בְּחֻקֵּי יְהוָה לְשִׁמּוֹעַ עַל־דְּבָרֵי יְהוָה הַנִּבְּאִים}$) are complementary rather than parallel: which means that there are two ways in which the people can know the will^{of} God, the Torah and the words of the prophets.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

3) Ezekiel : The first Torah passage (7:26) belongs to an oracle

162. O. Kaiser, Der königliche Knecht, eine Traditionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Studie über Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder bei Deuterojesaja, (FRIANT NF 52), Göttingen, 1959, pp. 30f.

163. See also J. Begrich, "Die priestliche^{alt} Tora", in: Werden und Wesen des AT, (BZAW 66), 1936, p. 64; and the passage there referred to, cf. also G. Østborn, Tora in the OT, 1945, p. 90; whom Kaiser is primarily attacking.

164. Jer 18:18; B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 133.

of judgement (7:1-17). People seeks Torah from the priests. This is reminiscent of Jer 4:9-10; 13:13. Oracle from prophet, Torah from priest, counsel from elder - and all of these can be regarded as oral activities. Ezk 22:26 is also an oracle of indictment. The priests' violence to Torah was specified as making no distinction between holy and common, between clean and unclean, and they are said to have disregarded the Sabbath. Torah here is related to the duty of the priests, who were Torah-givers. Ezk 43:11f uses the phrase "this is the Torah". The Torah here is the temple regulation or temple plan rather than the cultic regulation itself. Ezk 44:5 and 24 also belong to the temple ordinances, concerning who is to be admitted. Torah here is to govern the temple personnel (44:5). The priest must teach the people the difference between clean and unclean, about the proper observance of the festivals, and the sanctification of the Sabbath.

4) The Deuteronomic Writings : Josh 1:7 and 8 belong to the commission of Joshua (1:1-9). The phrase "all the Torah" is not found in LXX, and "the book of the Torah" implies the Deuteronomic law. "The book of the Torah" is mentioned again in Josh 8:31, where it is recorded that Joshua ⁱbuklt an altar on Mount Ebal, "as Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded the people of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses", and further, in v. 32, that Joshua "wrote upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses", "and afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessing and the curse" (v. 34). The content of the Torah is the blessings and curses of the covenant law, which were read before the congregation. Josh 22:5 reflects

165. In the late Deuteronomic passage, II Kg 17:13 we find the prophetic testimony (פֶּלֶא-בִּיאוֹ כָּל-חֻמָּה וְיִזְרְעֵל) linked with פֶּלֶא-הַמִּירְהָ, פֶּלֶא, חֲסִיד, חֲסִידָה), cf. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, p. 22.

the phraseology of Dt 6:5-7 and implies that the content of Torah is Moses' exhortation "to love the Lord, to walk in his ways, and to serve with all the heart". The Torah here is meant to be the Mosaic sermon. Josh 23:6 ("be very steadfast to keep and do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses") has the same sense of admonition as 1:7f. Josh 24:26 belongs to the covenant at Shechem and refers to the writing of statutes and ordinances in the book of the law of God.

The Torah passage of I Kg 2:3 belongs to David's advice to Solomon, which was put into the mouth of David by the author. The Torah is here related to the statutes (חֻקֵּי), the commandments (מִצְוֹת), the ordinances (דְּבָרֵי), and the testimones (עֵדוּת). "Jehu was not careful to walk in the law" (II Kg 10:31) refers to his failure to act in accordance with Deuteronomic standards: the Torah here certainly denotes the Deuteronomic law code. II Kg 14:6 records that Amaziah did not ^{kill} the sons of his father's murderers and specifies that he thus observed the Torah, i.e. the law of Deuteronomy 24:16; not to put to death the children of murderers. Therefore, the content of Torah here is the Deuteronomic law code or the Book of Deuteronomy.

II Kg 17:13 is the most important in the entire book for the understanding of the theological and ethical viewpoint of the first Deuteronomistic author in that he links the prophetic warnings with the content of the Torah, the statutes and the commandments (v. 13). II Kg 17:34 and 37, which come from the late Deuteronomistic editor's addition, mention the Samaritans' marrying with the foreign settlers. The Torah in these passages is linked with the statutes, the commandments, and ordinances. The same Deuteronomistic editor's hand is found in II Kg 21:8, which describes the period of Manasseh as the

worst period of Judah. II Kg 22:8 and 11 report the finding of the book of the Torah in the temple in 621 BC, which was almost certainly the core of the present book of Deuteronomy. II Kg 1-25 describes how Josiah's reform was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the book found in the temple, described variously as "the book of the covenant" (v. 2; cf. v. 3, "the words of the covenant which were written in this book"), "the words of the Torah which were written in the book" (v. 24), and "all the Torah of Moses" (v. 25).

5) The Second Isaiah : Is 42:4 depicts the servant of Yahweh pronouncing Torah and judgement, and says that the coastlands wait for the Torah, which in this passage is better understood as instruction.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ In this passage the term is linked closely to לְדָוָר , which occurs in vv. 1,3,4; but the sense of this latter term in the present context is distorted. Some maintain that it means "justice"⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ C.R. North translates לְדָוָר as "law" and interprets as "the practice of religion rather than its credal content".⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Many commentators have understood the word in the sense of "religion" comparing the comprehensive sense of the Arabic dīn.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ ~~On~~ Any of these interpretations provides support for interpreting the parallel "Torah" in the general sense of "instruction", "teaching". There is no suggestion of a body of statute law, nor in spite of the exilic date, any sign of Deuteronomic influence. "To magnify his Torah and make it

166. C.R. North, The Second Isaiah, Oxford, 1964, pp. 109f; C. Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, London, 1969, p. 96.

167. C. Westermann, op. cit., pp. 95f; cf. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", pp. 107f.

168. See his whole discussion, op. cit., pp. 107f.

169. e.g. R. Levy, Deutero-Isaiah, London, 1925, p. 144; cf. also C.R. North's discussion ad. loc.

glorious" in Is 42:21 means to fulfil it; and there, the Torah here is the divine instruction to the prophet as in 1:10 and 8:16, but in 42:24 the phraseology ("in whose ways they would not walk, and whose law they would not obey") sounds Deuteronomic and is generally regarded as a later insertion, giving the impression of a body of law. The use of Torah is consistent with the theme of the poem and it has the didactic sense, paralleled with "His way".⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ In Is 51:4, where "Torah" is parallel to לִבְּךָ , and $\text{וְ$ the meaning is the same as in 42:4. The Torah will go forth from God (v.4) and it stays in one's heart (v.7). The Torah here denotes not law code but instruction of Yahweh's will. In all the Second Isaiah, Torah means teaching rather than law code, actualized in the divine ordering of society (42:2) or retained in the mind as a principle of personal integrity (51:7).

2. Torah in the Post-Exilic Period

The exilic and early post-exilic are the periods of the return of the exiles to Jerusalem, the building of the second temple, the relation between Judah and her neighbours, and the vicissitudes of the priests and Levites.

1) Haggai : The unit to which Hag 2:11 belongs is an oracle of the priests in response to the question directed to them concerning the contagious nature of holiness and uncleanness. The phrasing of the Torah passage is "asking the priests for a Torah". The meaning is "directive" as Ackroyd pointed out.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

170. B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy", p. 134.

171. P.R. Ackroyd, "Haggai and Zechariah", Peake's Commentary, new edn. 563 e.

2) Zechariah : The unit (7:1-14) to which the Torah passage (v. 12) belongs to an inquiry about fasting and the subsequent response. "The Torah and the words which Yahweh sent by His spirit through the former prophets" does not suggest the existence of two categories of Scripture; namely, the Pentateuch and the former prophets, but rather suggests the priestly instructions by Torah and prophetic oracle by "words", because vv. 9-10 summarises the prophetic speech. The language is strongly reminiscent of Deuteronomic homilies, e.g. Dt 30, and it is possible to understand Torah as "teaching" or "instruction" in a very general sense.⁽¹⁷²⁾

3) Malachi : Mal 2:6 and 9 belong to a series of passages which express the failure of the Levitical priests in their duties (2:1-9). The true Torah in the mouths of Levitical priests ("my covenant with Levi" in v.4) is said to be the covenant of life and peace for the people in order that they may fear God (v.5). The lips of the priests were "to guard the knowledge" (v.7) and the people were supposed to seek instruction from their mouth (v.7). But, the priests failed in their duties and caused the people to stumble by their crooked and partial instruction (vv.8-9). Therefore, we can safely conclude from these texts that until the time of the early post-exilic community there was priestly instruction based on the covenant law codes, the ritual Decalogue, the Holiness Code, and judicial decision by the administrative rulers which were based on the Deuteronomic Code, and prophetic words of warning on social and political corruption. Mal 3:22 (Eng 4:4) belongs to an exhortation to observe the Torah of Moses. The Deuteronomistic character of the language and thought

172. J. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, 1973, p.24.

is clear. Horeb is the name given to the mountain in Deuteronomy, and so ^{it is} likely to be an editorial comment intended to make a fitting end to the book of twelve. The content of the Torah is specified as the statutes and ordinances (תּוֹרַת מִשְׁפָּטִים).

4) Job : Job has only one Torah passage (22:22) which is put into the mouth of Eliphaz; "Receive Torah from God's mouth, lay it in heart". It is Eliphaz's advice to Job to agree with God and be at peace." This self-appointed upholder of a lofty form of theism laid out his logic in vv. 17-18. It is almost identical with that of Job himself (21:14-16). "Return" means "receive instruction (advice) from God's mouth, and lay it to heart". Beside this Torah passage, there are other passages in Job, in which the Torah can be found as the sapiential instruction. Job shouts, "Teach me (הוֹרֵנִי, hiph'il) and I will be silent, make me understand how I have erred" (6:24). He also counter attacks; "I will teach you (אֶתְּנֶה, אֶתְּנֶה) concerning the hand of God" (27:11). Bildad exhorts Job to hear the teaching of the fathers; "will they not teach you ...?" (הֲלֹא יִלְמְדוּךָ, 8:10). Elihu chastises, "teach me what I do not see" (34:32). And Job suggests that the creation provides teaching and that one can even learn theology from animals (12:7f). This points unmistakably to sapiential instruction.

5) The Chronicler's Writings : Neh 9:1-12 reports on the reading the book of the law, in which the term Torah appears six times. This was not a customary annual reading to the people, but an extraordinary event (cf. v.18). It was designed to regulate the religious life of the people of Israel by the recognized written Torah. The demand for the production of "the book of Torah" has a two-fold interest. Firstly, it testifies to the general knowledge of the existence of a

book, the content of which probably agreed substantially with our Pentateuch. Secondly, the voice of popular acknowledgement sets the seal of "canonicity" upon the first portion of the Jewish Scripture.

In Neh 8:2 Torah has the sense of the written law, and it is priestly law related to the day of holy convocation, the first day of the month Tishri. In Neh 8:7f the Levites were said to have helped people to understand the Torah, reading it clearly (or, with interpretation). It is not clear whether the Levites read the Torah along with Ezra or read it successively taking turns. The word mephōrāsh in v.8 means "separated", or "split up", and might indicate that the reading was done in sections. The most widely accepted interpretation is that the reference is to translation from Hebrew into Aramaic and that, as Rabbinic tradition states, this is the beginning of the Targumim.

In the great confession and complaint of Ezra in Neh 9 we find six occurrences^s of the term Torah. 9:3 states that the people had continued standing where they were for six ^hours, listening to reading "the book of the law of the Lord their God" for three hours and worshipping another three hours. In 9:13 and 14 the mountain, that is referred to is not Horeb but Sinai (Dt 33:2; Judg 5:5). Reference is made to laws (tōrōth) along with statutes, commandments, and ordinances. Here Torah would denote a positive rule, because the phrase אָמְרוּ אַחֲרָיו is in the plural. The expression "they have cast Thy Torah behind their back" in vv. 26 and 29 presumably refers to the corpus of written law.

Neh 10 belongs to the covenant to support God's house (9:38-10:39), in which the term Torah occurs three times: at vv. 30(29), 35(34), and 37(36). According to v.30 a curse and an oath were en-

tered into "to walk in God's Torah which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments (צִוִּיּוֹת) of the Lord our God and his ordinances (מִצְוֹת) and his statutes (פְּקֻדִּים). At v. 35 (cf. 13:31) the undertaking to bring a wood offering for the altar fire is said to be "as it is written in the Torah", but there is no requirement in the Pentateuch that such an offering should be made. (We may note that the commitment to pay a third part of a shekel for the service of the temple (v.33) also represents a divergence from Pentateuchal standards, since in Ex 30:11-16 the required sum is half a shekel.) At v. 37 the phrase "as it is written in the Torah" refers to the obligation to offer first fruits and first-born to God (Ex 23:19; 34:26; Dt 26:1-10; Num 18:12f, 15f). With the vexed question of the two divergences from Pentateuchal legislation we need not now concern ourselves. The commitments undertaken correspond to different parts of the Pentateuch and therefore point to the existence of a written Torah corresponding, possibly with minor exceptions, to the legislative parts of the Pentateuch as we have it.

The phrase "the portion^s of the law" (חֵצֵק הַתּוֹרָה) in Neh 12:44 is unique in the OT, and indicates the special requirement in the Levitical law for the temple revenue (12:44-47). The next Torah passage (Neh 13:3) belongs to Nehemiah's second administration and is related to ~~do~~ the prohibition against the Ammonites and Moabites entering the temple, and may have been based upon Dt 23:3-5. The Torah which the people heard is also described as "the book of Moses" (v.1) It also includes a reference to the Balaam Cycle (Num 22-24

Neh 8:12, 14 and 18 belong to the reports of the celebration of the feast of Booths (Lev 23:33-43). The leading men of the nation apply to Ezra for further instruction in the Torah, to which the

priests and Levites join in this application with the laymen. Were they too ignorant of the contents of the Torah? This is possible if it had hitherto been chiefly known by oral tradition or by disconnected writings. From vv. 14f it appears that Ezra was not so much supplying the people with a new interpretation as simply informing them of the contents of the law.⁽¹⁷³⁾ The fact that the reading went on for seven days makes it probable that the whole, or at any rate by far the greater portion, of the Torah (Pentateuch) was read.

Ezr 3:2 describes the offering of the burnt-offering by the returned exiles led by Joshua and Zerubbabel "as it is written in the Torah of Moses," which here means, not the Pentateuch^h, but the body of law. The offering for the first day of Tishri and feast of Trumpets are described in Num 29:1-6 (cf. 6:18; II Ch 23:18; 35:12,26). Rudolf^{ph} thinks these passages are the complicated psalm of public and private ritual of festal offering (16:7,12ff,33; 29:13ff).⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ By the time of Ezra, according to Ezr 9:4, the regular evening sacrifice was not a burnt-offering, but a cereal offering.

Ezr 7:6,10 introduces Torah as "skilled for Torah", meaning not "fast writer"⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ but one who covers the whole Torah. In the days of the monarchy there were the scribes (סופרים), the king's stated secretary or chancellor (II Sam 8:17), such as Seraiah (II Sam 8:17), Sheba (II Sam 20:25; I Ch 18:16), Elihoreb and Ahijah (I Kg 4:3), Shebnah (II Kg 18:18), Shaphan (II Kg 22:3), Gemariah (Jer 36:10), Elishama (Jer 36:12), and Jonathan (Jer 37:15).

173. H.E. Ryle, The Book of Ezra and Nehemiah, (CB), 1893, 1923, p. 246.

174. W. Rudolph, Ezra und Nehemiah, (HAT 20), 1930, p. 31.

175. H. Gressmann, "Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels", ZAW 42 (1924), p. 295.

During the latter days of the monarchy, the name began to refer to one who was occupied in studying and copying the documents containing the sacred laws of the nation (i.e. Jer 8:8, "the false pen of the scribes"). H. Schmid claims that 𐤓𐤁𐤏 is not the participle of the verb "count" as in Ps 56:9; 87:6, but a loan word from Accadian Sapi \bar{r} u (scribe), and thereby should not be translated as "one who writes the words of laws",⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ as if Ezra was the author of the Torah. After the captivity the increasing importance of the written law and the necessity of explaining it to the people brought the scribes into great importance. The scribes took the place of the prophets and in their influence upon their countrymen they eclipsed the priests.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Here scribe means devoted to the study of the written Torah, seeking to expound it to the people and impress upon them the duty of its rigid obedience.

By the phrase "according to the Torah it shall be done" Ezra 10:3 suggests that the content of Torah has provided the basis for Ezra's divorce measure against gentile wives. But, no extant law required divorce in such cases. It could mean that the act of "putting away the strange wives" should be performed in accordance with the regulations for divorce in the law. But, it would be more probable that the generally accepted oral tradition of instruction prohibiting marriage with the heathen, which was based on the covenant law, was already in force at the time of Ezra. So it would be preferable to take the Torah as the traditionalized "instruction" on the matter

176. H. Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit, p. 123; and also H.H. Schaefer, Ezra der Schreiber, 1930, p. 39, who claims that saparu has from the primary meaning "to send a message" developed the meaning "to write", "to correspond"; cited by W. McKane, Prophets and Wise Men, (SBT 44), 1965, p. 25, n. 2.

177. H.E. Ryle, Ezra and Nehemiah, p. 59.

based upon the covenant code.

The Chronicler uses the term Torah quite extensively. In I Ch 16:40 Torah appears in the service of dedication and further ecclesiastical arrangement. The phrase "according to all that is written in the law" suggests that the content of Torah was temple regulation on the matter of festal sacrifice upon the altar. I Ch 22:12 also belongs to the preparation for the construction of the temple, and should be understood as referring to the covenant law.

II Ch 6:16 belongs to Solomon's prayer of dedication, in which he reminds God of his promise to his father David. In Samuel and Kings neither David nor Solomon was admonished to "walk in my law", rather than were admonished to "walk before me" (I Kg 8:25). It is not clear what the author really meant here, but presumably he meant the Deuteronomic code. 12:1 refers to the sin of Rehoboam and his punishment; "he forsook the Torah...and all Israel with him". In Kings "Israel" is a covenant people.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ The Chronicler did not hesitate to use the term "Israel" in speaking of Judah (12:4; 12:6; 15:17; 21:2,4; 28:19). Therefore, here the Torah means the covenant law of Deuteronomy.

II Ch 14:3 refers to the piety and might of king Asa (vv. 1-7). The Chronicler omits I Kg 15:12, which reports his putting away of the sacred prostitutes, and his removal of idols. These evils were utterly at variance with the piety and religious zeal already ascribed to Rehoboam and Ahijah. He expands the reform of Asa into one similar to those mentioned in Kings that were wrought by Hezekiah and Josiah; foreign altars, the high places (in I Kg 15:14 it is stated that Asa did not destroy the high places), the pillars, the Masseboth.

178. W.A.L. Elmslie, The Book of Chronicles, (CB), 1916, pp. 210f.

The Deuteronomic law forbade their use (Dt 16:22), and commanded their destruction (Dt 7:5; 12:3).⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ The phrase "without a teaching priest and without law" in 15:3 are two synonymous expressions.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ The giving of legal instruction was a function of the priest (Dt 33:10; Is 18:18; Hos 4:6f; Mal 2:7) and the Torah was in their charge.

II Ch 17 belongs to the report of the initial^{ly} good and prosperous earlier part of Jehoshaphat is (17:1-19), and here the Chronicler has the king send out a delegation of five princes, nine Levites, and two priests with Torah in their hands for religious education among the people. The Torah apparently was really a scroll, according to II Kg 22:8-13; Dt 17:18-20. The priests were the guardians of the Torah, and the Chronicler seems to mean by Torah the Pentateuch.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ The Torah in 19:10 also belongs to the wise rule of Jehoshaphat after he had been rebuked by a prophet. The idea of appointment of judges by the king, which is not found in I Kings, may have been suggested by the name "Jehoshaphat" (cf. Dt 1:16,17; 16:18), for cases were to be judged by the Torah, the commandments, the statutes, and the ordinances.

II Ch 28:18 belongs to the story of Jehoiada's revolt against Athaliah. The covenant with Yahweh, the destruction of the temple of Baal, and the enthronement of the king (23:16-21), which changes the characteristic view to make the revolt the work of the Levites and singers (by the addition of vv. 18-19 by the Chronicler) rather than of the Military as in II Kg 11. Here the Torah may well be the whole Pentateuch (cf. II Ch 6:34/49/). The Chronicler ascribes all

179. E.L. Curtis, The Book of Chronicler, (ICC), 1910, p. 351.

180. Ibid., p. 385; W.A.L. Elmslie, op. cit., p. 228.

181. W.A.L. Elmslie, op. cit., p. 238.

the musical arrangements to David (cf. I Ch 25)⁽¹⁸²⁾ while all the sacrificial arrangements to the law of Moses.

Another Torah passage (25:4) - "He (Amaziah) did not put their children to death, according to what is written in the Torah, in the book of Moses" - refers to Amaziah's ~~wrongful deed and his subsequent suffering~~, and the Torah must be related to Dt 24:16; Jer 31:29-30; Ezk 18:2-4). The Chronicler's reports on Hezekiah has four Torah passages. 50:16 belongs to his great passover festival (30)1-27), and naturally the cultic regulation of the festal season is meant to be part of the content of Torah. II Ch 31:3,4 and 21 belong to the context of Hezekiah's reform measures, especially the re-establishment of the priests and the Levites. Therefore, the temple regulation and the priestly order should be taken as the content of the Torah.

II Ch 33:8 belongs to the story of the bad beginning and the later repentance of Manasseh (33:1-25), and the Torah is put in line with the statutes and the ordinances. Torah would certainly mean the covenantal law of Moses. The report of Josiah's reform has four Torah passages: 33:14,15,19 and 35:26. In all of these the Torah is the book found in the temple, and is generally accepted as the book of Deuteronomy. 35:26 is related to Josiah's great passover celebration. A prominent place is given to the Torah of the Chronicler, and the words of Neco II, the Egyptian Pharaoh, are given as coming from the mouth of God (v.22). The idea of Torah here is the same as that expressed in the rest of the author's writings.

The Chronicler uses Torah in a wide variety of ways; "Torah of Yahweh" (I Ch 6:40; 22:12; II Ch 12:1; 17:9; 31:3,4; 34:14), "the Torah" (II Ch 15:3; 33:8; 35:26), "the Torah and the commandments" (II Ch 14:4; 19:10; 31:21), "the Torah of Moses" (II Ch 6:16), "the

Torah in the book of Moses" (II Ch 25:4), and "the words of Torah" (II Ch 34:19). The forms that stand close to each other throughout Chronicler's work are "Torah of Moses" (Ezr 3:2; 7:6; II Ch 23:18; 25:4; 30:16) and "Torah of Yahweh/God" (Ezr 7:10; Neh 8:8; 10:29; I Ch 16:40; 22:12; II Ch 12:1; 17:9; 31:14; 35:26). It is noticeable that the Chronicler often added an allusion to the Deuteronomic copy of the Torah (cf. II Ch 6:16 with I Kg 8:25; II Ch 23:18 with II Kg 11:18c; II Ch 35:26 with II Kg 23:26). Also interesting is the additional use of the expression "Torah of Moses", although the status of Moses in his historical presentation is not generally outstanding compared to Aaron. That upon which the Deuteronomistic author based his attribution of the Torah to Moses was evidently already accepted as having timeless value.⁽¹⁸³⁾ The Chronicler might well have had the completed Pentateuch before him. Like Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic author, the Chronicler also considered the Torah as a unity (I Ch 22:12; II Ch 12:1; 14:3; 15:3; 35:26). The variety of different formulas and many superficial references (I Ch 16:40; II Ch 23:1f; 31:3; Ezr 3:2; etc)⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ implies that the Chronicler had a tendency to unite the timeless Torah in a single command, which was brought into a partnership with the casuistic law of "P".⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

182. W.A.L. Elmslie, The Book of Chronicles, (CB), p. 273.

183. M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, 1943, pp. 163f. and also p. 175, n. 2.

184. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, 1962, p. 352.

185. In the later stage of the OT, Torah became the designation for national law, the kingly regulation, similar to the old Persian stemmed loan word ṭṭ (21 times). The word which belongs to the reign of national administration took the place of Torah in the title "the scribe of the Torah of God of Heaven" (Aram. Ezr 7:12,21; cf. v.14,25,26; "laws of your God") for Ezra was an expert on Jewish religious affairs within the Persian domination; cf. W. Rudolf, Ezra und Nehemiah, (HAT 20), 1930, pp. 68 and 85.

The Torah acquired an ever increasing independent importance and a primary significance for the nation's relationship to God. An important stage in the development of the Torah is the Deuteronomic and the Chronistic writings of history. Their revisions of the earlier historical material in Judges for example, has a pattern: the nation's sin, the nation's penitance^e and appeal to God, God's help through a deliverer, and the nation sins anew (Judg 2:11ff). This presentation of history brings home to the people that their existence is bound up with the keeping of the law. The historical writings reveal the mounting importance of the Torah. It was made the basis of community life.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The meaning and purpose of Ezra's effort (Ezr 9) is that Israel becomes a religious community gathered^e around the Torah. To keep the Torah becomes the distinctive mark of membership in God's people. Until this time the priest was the prominent figure in the life of the Israelite community, but henceforth a new profession emerges to give religious guidance to the people (Ezr 7:10). The study of the Torah becomes an independent task which can be completely detached from the priestly office.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Now, after the return, the predominant concern was how to carry out God's will. The emphasis is directed more and more to words for fulfilling the Torah.

186. E. Würthwein, Der Jam ha'arez im AT, 1936, p. 66.

187. W. Eichrodt, Old Testament Theology I, tr. J.A. Baker, 1961, pp. 400f; II Ch 15:3 perhaps indicates a distinction in this sense between Torah and priest's teaching.

TORAH IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD1. Torah in Apocalyptic :

In the post-exilic period Judaism as a whole tended to put its emphasis on the Torah as the high point of the revelation given by Moses. Torah is a God-given treasure and everything must be seen in its light. The Jews regarded it as "eternal" (I Enoch 99:2; cf. 5:4; 99:14). II Esdras presupposes that the whole Torah was lost. (188) Ezra asked God to send the Holy Spirit that he may write Torah. (189) Ezra's prayer was granted and for 40 days he dictated solidly to five fast writers and produced 94 books, 24 of which he was commanded to publish. (190) There are 70 other books sometimes said to represent the oral law, but this seems unlikely as Ezra was told to keep them secret (cf. v.6,26). The phrase "in order to give them to the wise among your people" (v.46) seems to refer to the apocalyptic books, which were not for the ordinary man but for "the wise". Seen in this way apocalyptic and the law are in no contradiction. According to Dietrich Rössler:

The significance of the Torah in apocalyptic is that it preserves a place for individual in the people of God, by which he remains a member/chosen community and is led toward salvation with the rest. (191)

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188. "...thy law has been burned and no one knows the things which have been done or will be done by Thee"; II Esd 14:21.
189. "Things which were written in thy Torah, that men may find the path". (14:22).
190. C.H. Box comments that the number 24 is the ordinary reckoning of the OT books (5:8:11). In Talmud and Midrash the OT is regularly termed "the 24 holy Scriptures"; G.H. Box, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT, R.H. Charles ed., II, 1963, p. 624.

The law fits very naturally into the apocalyptic scheme.

The theocratic (later the Rabbinic) group of Judaism had made the study of the Torah of primary importance regarding it as the one authoritative deposit of revelation and an unchanging static deposit of truth, elevating it to the supreme place in their way of life. The apocalyptic group, in contrast, had kept the freshness of revelation without minimizing the place of the Torah, stressing the revelation of vision. The rabbis were essentially backward looking while the apocalypstist looked forward, seeking revelation.⁽¹⁹²⁾ The rabbis could not come to terms with apocalyptic view of life. The apocalyptic writings were, therefore, preserved for the most part not by Judaism but by Christianity. Apocalyptic remains for the most part Jewish, but it was produced by a segment of Judaism with an outlook uncongenial to Rabbinism. With the eventual triumph of Pharisaism the writings of other schools of thought ceased to be copied. Charles notes:

The Torah which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God. When men were moved by the Spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, present, and future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truth, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.⁽¹⁹³⁾

There is nothing in the Torah itself that precludes fresh revelation. The apocalyptic honoured the Torah. But, the Rabbinic understanding of Torah was an intolerant one. They could find no room for the

191. Cited by G. Ebeling, "Existence between God and God; a Contribution to the question of the Existence of God", tr. J.P. Carse, JThCh 5 (1968), p. 50, n. 5.

192. L. Morris, Apocalyptic, London, 1973, pp. 69-70.

193. R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT, I, 1913, 1963, p. 163.

claim of apocalyptic. They were too rigid in their understanding of the meaning of the Torah.

Why? Because in apocalyptic the Torah lost the sense of a concrete code of conduct. To receive the instruction of Torah it had become as a sign of election: "righteousness according to the Torah" meant remaining in the elected state. The nationalistic interpretation of Torah by Judaism overlooked the universalistic and individualistic intent of Torah. The apocalyptic interest ^{was} in specific ethical definition of the contents of the Torah and did not participate in the intra-Jewish discussions about the concrete expressions of the Torah. (194) In view of the end of this age, such discussions were without significance. According to the apocalyptic view the time for intensive discussion of what the Torah required in detail at any given time was past; the one who now joins himself to the community of the believers in apocalyptic is obedient to the Torah.

The Torah is concretely fulfilled only within the divine plan for history. (195) The Torah in fact constitutes the apocalyptic faith. The elect turn away from present history in general toward the goal of apocalyptic hope. That is, instead of understanding the present in terms of past history, they shape their present to the divine plan of history. The loss of history, an absence of any political program or proclamation related to the society suggests that this apocalyptic group in fact did not participate in the Hasmonian^e struggle for political struggle.

In Daniel the successful war of the Maccabeans is slightly

194. W. Schmithals, "Apocalyptic Movement", in: Introduction and Interpretation, tr. J.S. Steely, New York: Abingdon Press, 1975, p. 47.

195. Ibid., p. 47.

called "a small help" for the pious, hardly worthy of mention in comparison with the turn of the age that is expected from God (Dan 11:34). The apocalyptic groups led an existence separated from the public religion. In its literature there is a total lack of concrete, specific paraenesis. The Torah remains in force and the pious observe the Torah, but nowhere is the content of the Torah precisely defined.

The Torah provides information about God's action in history, including his eschatological action and activity in the present end of history. In this sense Torah and wisdom constantly stand side by side (IV Esd 5:8). The Torah means revelation in a general historical sense, but has no current ethical relevance. Its only function is to provide the basis for judging in the final judgement (IV Esd 5:4). The radical pessimism with respect to reality is a resignation with respect to its own ability to alter the course of the world. Nevertheless the apocalypticist does not fall victim to pessimism to become a nihilist, but he possesses a hope which is not less radical in its character than his pessimism. The combination of the unconditionally negative and absolutely positive aspects is made possible by the dualistic doctrine of the two ages.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ The pessimism is oriented to this world and man, which can only increase the measure of evil. The optimism is oriented to the coming aeon and God, who alone is able to check the misery of the present course of the world.

2. Torah in Ben Sira

Ben Sira uses the term Torah 23 times, 6 each with "wisdom" (19:20; 21:11; 33:2?; 34:8; 39:1; 44:4) and with "covenant" (24:23; 39:8; 42:2; 44:20; 45:5), 4 with "commandments" (32:24; 35:1; 45:5,7)

and 3 with "the fear of Yahweh" (19:20,24; 21:11; 42:2?). This reflects Ben Sira's actual accom^modation of the four most important aspects of Jewish thought in his days; i.e. wisdom, the commandments, the covenant, and the fear of Yahweh.

The Torah is called the "law of Yahweh's covenant" (39:7; 44:20c), "the covenant book of God the Most High" (24:23a) or "the law of the Most High" (23:23; 30:1; 41:8; 44:20). It is ascribed to Moses (24:23b), as what Moses "enacted" (24:23) or "enlightened" (45:17b), and is said to be "the heritage of the assembly of Jacob" (24:23c), who is responsible to give it to the heathen (4:1), which may imply its origin in northern Israel. It is understood as the national law ("the nation's law", 44:4b), and is said to have been breached by the assembly and people (41:18).

The Torah was described as that which brings "life" and "knowledge" (45:5c), and to keep it is described as being better than many offerings (35:1), as the sign of a man's fear of God (19:20), as the sign of his control of thought (21:11) or as the sign of his wisdom (33:2). On the other hand, the transgression of it is the sign of unfaithfulness (23:23; 41:8), which brings shame (41:18) and inflicts an incurable wound (21:3). Sir 39:1-3 provides also an important clue to the supposed content of the Torah: to study the Torah is said to be "investigating all the wisdom of the past", "studying the prophecies", "preserving the words of famous men", "penetrating the parables and the hidden meaning of proverbs and riddles". We could safely assume that the content of the Torah consisted of the wisdom of the past, prophecy, words of famous men, parables, riddles, and proverbs.

196. W. Schmithals, "Apocalyptic Movement", 1975, p. 49.

The unique "praise of the fathers" (44:1-49:16) celebrates the great figures of biblical history. Ben Sira's retrospect of past history is a very different phenomenon from other wisdom literature, which totally ignored it in favour of its international character. Ben Sira looks on history, not as the disclosure of God's hidden teaching nor as the tension between promise and fulfilment, but as the succession of great men who are worthy to be praised. The praise of great men in the history of Israel is not to be regarded as a process of secularization of history. The whole hymn is in praise of what God has made out of men who were inspired by God to great political and spiritual performance.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ The Torah was the instruction drawn from the experience of father or teacher, and an educational form of wisdom. When the national history was drawn for the instruction of national life, the history was to be understood as the experience of a people rather than of an individual, and in Ben Sira history was taken as the arena of the Torah, as instruction, and as wisdom. Ben Sira recommends that one keep the commandments if one longs for wisdom (1:26). If one masters the Torah wisdom will be his (15:1). This is exactly what 39:1 expresses: he who studies the Torah is investigating all the wisdom of the past, which means that the Torah is either the accumulation of wisdom out of individual experience in the past or national instruction drawn from history. The Torah is seen as the source of wisdom: "out of their fund they gave instruction" (44:4).

Ben Sira had not acquired his knowledge of traditional wisdom through the Torah, and Ben Sira himself changed much of the traditio-

197. G.von Rad, "Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach", EvTh 29 (1969), p. 127.

nal materials: his image of leaders and his knowledge of God are markedly different from that of the earlier wisdom teaching.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾

The identification of wisdom with the Torah contains two basic implications which distinguish Ben Sira from other OT wisdom writers, and at the same time establishes his affinity with later rabbis. Firstly, it makes the study, interpretation, and exposition of the Scriptures, and the preservation of tradition the essential learning. Secondly, it takes seriously the major features of Hebrew religious faith and life as they are presented in the Scriptures.

This is linked to the assertion that wisdom is the Torah (23:33), a major departure from Proverbs, even though the implications of this identification have not permeated the author's treatment of the old tradition of practical wisdom, which still governs his thinking. Labour and leisure for study are especially necessary for one to become adept at wisdom (14:20; 23:16-18; 38:24; 39:1-12; 50:27-29; 24:34). The idea of wisdom sending envoys or prophetic messengers is foreign to the conception of wisdom in Ben Sira.

Ben Sira warns against the arrogant assumption that men can know more than God reveals to them, and he counsels them to limit their attention to the law (3:22-24; cf. Dt 29:29; Ps 131:1; Jer 45:5). Torah is more than man can understand fully (3:13b), because it is hidden (3:22b).

All wisdom is the fear of Yahweh and the fulfilment of the Torah for Ben Sira (19:20). The Hebrew text of Sira uses the familiar saying וְלִי בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ אֵלַי סוּלְאִים ("turn to me, ye fools and tarry in the house of study", 51:23). firstly, the one who ^{has} fear of

198. G.von Rad, "Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach", p. 130.

Yahweh will keep himself to the Torah. Here we can see the overall difference between earlier wisdom and Ben Sira. To Ben Sira, Torah, as written scripture, plays a great role.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ In the earlier wisdom teaching this aspect is lacking. Does Ben Sira shift the essence of the fear of Yahweh? Fichtner claims that in Ben Sira the norm of behaviour no longer comes from the admonition of the teacher or from the treasure of experience, but from the Torah, the written scripture, and the tie between legalism and wisdom began to be established.⁽²⁰⁰⁾

Von Rad opposes this idea by observing that the teaching material which Ben Sira refers to did not originate from the Torah but wholly from the wisdom teaching.⁽²⁰¹⁾ Torah does play a noticeable role in the thought of Ben Sira. The old wisdom understood the "fear of Yahweh" in terms of obedience to God's will and not to the details of ancient cultic and covenant legal code. The search for the will of God in the written Torah was made by Ben Sira as a new concept of God-fearing to fit his own time. Ben Sira saw the relationship of wisdom and God-fearing, and wisdom with Torah (1:16; 19:20; 21:11; 23:27). Torah fixes and interprets the concept of the fear of Yahweh. By including Torah Ben Sira has done nothing momentous. Ben Sira in no way eliminates a specific exercise of the traditional wisdom circle by Torah. His problem was not to look for something other than the old traditional wisdom teaching, but rather to make it more clear, not to submerge wisdom in the shadow of the great po-

199. 1:26; 6:37; 10:19; 15:1,15; 19:17,20,34; 21:11; 24:23; 28:7; 29:1,11; 31:8/34:8/; 32/35/:1,2,7; 35/32/:15,17,23f; 37:12; 39:8; 41:8; 42:2.

200. Cf. J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitische-jüdische Ausprägung, 1933, p. 97; he speaks of one "nomistischen Weisheit".

201. G.von Rad, "Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach", p. 117.

wer of Torah, but to correlate these two by interpreting Torah within the horizon of the understanding of wisdom. The question, according to von Rad, is not where did the Torah come from, but to what extent the Torah is the source of wisdom, because the Torah is able to help man to wisdom.⁽²⁰²⁾ In the heart of Sira's teaching the speaker is not the Torah but wisdom, which dwells in the Torah. The high point in Ben Sira's presentation of Torah is ch. 24, where the Torah is identified with wisdom. In vv. 1-22 wisdom is described in personal terms reminiscent of Prov 8:22-9:12, by which Ben Sira has clearly been influenced. Wisdom was present before and at creation and pervades the whole created order (vv. 1-7); but her special abode is in Israel, and in particular in Zion (vv. 8-12). This last assertion leads up to the identification of wisdom with "the book of the covenant of the Most High God, "the Torah which Moses commanded us for an inheritance unto the assemblies of Jacob" (v. 23). Thus, in this passage, on the one hand, wisdom is unmistakably established within the national tradition of Israel's religion, and, on the other, the Torah, being identified with wisdom shares the special divine character of wisdom, and like her is held to have existed before creation.

202. G.von Rad, "Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach", p. 117.

CHAPTER THREE

TORAH IN THE WISDOM PSALMS

1. The Problem of Classification

That there is some difficulty in identifying Wisdom Psalms is evident from the wide divergence of opinion on the subject. The following table gives some indication of the extent of that divergence.

1	13	19	32	34	37	49	73	78	91	105	106	111	112	119	127	128	133	139	
1					37	49	73						112			128			Gunkel ⁽¹⁾
1				34	37	49		78		105	106		112		127				Mowinckel ⁽²⁾
1	19				37	49	73		91			111	112			128	133		Anderson ⁽³⁾
1				34	37		73	78					112	119	127	128	133		Kraus ⁽⁴⁾
1					37	49	73						112		127	128	133		Weiser ⁽⁵⁾
1	13				37	49	73	78	91							128	133		Eissfeldt ⁽⁶⁾
1			32	34		49							112			128			Murphy ⁽⁷⁾
1				34	37	49	73					111	112	119	127	128		139	Von Rad ⁽⁸⁾
1					37	49	73		91				112		127	128	133		Jensen ⁽⁹⁾
1			32	34	37	49							112		127	128	133		Kuntz ⁽¹⁰⁾

1. H. Gunkel-J. Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, Göttingen, 1933, pp. 386-397.
2. S. Mowinckel, "Psalms and Wisdom", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 205-224; idem, "Traditionalism and Personality in the Psalms", HUCA 23 (1950-51), p. 9.
3. G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the OT, London, 1959, 1964k p. 176, where he did not specifically list them, but in his seminar on the wisdom psalms.
4. H.J. Kraus, Psalmen I, (BK 15/1), 1960, p. lv.
5. A. Weiser, Psalms, (OTL), 1962, pp. 88-89.
6. O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: an Introduction, 1965,
7. R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'" (SVT 9), 1963, pp. 156-167.
8. G.von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, 1972, pp. 49, n. 38.

I. Engnell flatly states that "the truth of the matter is that the book of Psalms does not contain any wisdom psalms at all", rejecting the classification of Murphy,⁽¹¹⁾ whose studies have convinced him that some psalms may be so classified.⁽¹²⁾ The problem is, can we think of the Gattung of wisdom psalm as a specific form-critical category. Gunkel gave some attention to the existence within the Psalter of what he referred to as Weisheitsdichtung which he discovered possessed form-critical and thematic characteristics common to OT sapiential writings, as well as to the wisdom literature of the ancient Near East. Gunkel apparently regarded Ps 1, 37, 49, 73, 112, 127, 128, and 133 as products of the sages and several others as influenced to some degree by wisdom. In terms of methodology, Gunkel was one of the earliest psalmodic scholars to utilize the presence of sapiential language and the existence of wisdom themes.⁽¹³⁾

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9. H.L. Jansen, Die spätjüdische Psalmendichtung: ihr Entstehungskreis und ihr Sitz im Leben, (Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1937; cited by L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, p. 325, n. 5.
 10. K. Kuntz, "The Canonical Wisdom Psalms of Ancient Israel: Their Rhetorical, Thematic, and Formal Elements", (FS. J. Muilenburg), Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 1, Pickwick Press, 1974, pp. 186-222; idem, "The Retributive Motif in Psalmic Wisdom", ZAW 89 (1977), pp. 229-233.
 11. R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'", (SVT 9), 1963, pp. 156-167.
 12. I. Engnell, "The Book of Psalms", in: A Rigid Scrutiny: Critical Essay on the OT, tr. J. Willis, 1970, pp. 99f; Engnell's rejection of this genre rests upon his rather rigid cultic interpretation of the Psalter and his questionable belief that the wise had nothing to do with the cult.
 13. H. Gunkel - J. Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, pp. 386-397; J. Fichtner who also briefly examined the wisdom psalms wrote "Die Weisheitspsalmen sind nach einem an der Überigen bibl. Chokmaliteraturgebildeten inhaltlichen und formalem Masstab aus dem Psalter auszusondern. An Hand dieses Masstabes kann man einige Psalmen bzw. Psalmteile als 'Proverbien-Psalmen' (34:12-23;

Mowinckel approached the problems of the Psalms from the point of view of cult, and the so-called wisdom psalms posed a problem for him, since their non-cultic character had to be explained. On the basis of the presence of sapiential forms ("saying", "proverb", "exhortation") and wisdom themes (theodicy, retribution, the contrast between the righteous and the unrighteous) Mowinckel considered them as "a learned psalmography", which had for its' purpose praise, thanksgiving, and teaching. They are characterised by a dissolution of style and mixture of motifs. Mowinckel postulates that the person who brought a thank-offering would recite his private thanksgiving psalms in the circle of relatives and friends at the thanksgiving feasts.⁽¹⁴⁾ From Ben Sira we may infer such a recital before the students of wisdom in the circle gathered around the teacher, who taught young people the art of praising the Lord in inspired songs of wisdom. The poem is designed to express his religious experience by bearing witness to them and to admonish them to walk in the right way.⁽¹⁵⁾

An extensive analysis of wisdom psalms has been made by H.L. Jansen who examined sapiential psalms not only in the Psalter but also in a rather broad expanse of later inter-testamental literature, including the Psalms of Solomon, the prayer of Manasseh, Ben Sira, the Wisdom of Solomon, Daniel, Baruch I and II, and III Maccabees, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. Jansen concluded that the wise were responsible

37; 112; 128, ähnlich 127 und 133, einige als "Hiob-Psalmen" (49; 73) bezeichnen." J. Fichtner, Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung, (BZAW 62), p. 9.

14. S. Mowinckel, "Psalms and Wisdom", (SVT 3), pp. 210-3; also see his article, "Traditionalism and Personality in the Psalms" HUCA 23 (1950-51), pp. 2ff.
15. idem, "Psalms and Wisdom", pp. 212f.

for the creation of the late Jewish psalms in inter-testamental literature. Thus their form and content were transformed by the sapiential writers who gave the originally cultic genres sapiential character and wrote them not primarily for usage in the temple cult, but rather as instructional material for sages within the circles of the wise: the school, temple, and synagogue.⁽¹⁶⁾

More recently, G. von Rad has investigated a sapiential corpus of Psalms, which like Mowinckel, he based once more upon the presence of sapiential forms and themes within this body of Psalms. However, von Rad believed that such a classification lacked the identifiable structure of other major psalmodic genres, so that one could speak of a "classification" only in very general terms. Furthermore, von Rad argued that this corpus provides evidence of the appropriation of the structure, language, and themes of the other major genres which were recast by the sages into sapiential prayers.⁽¹⁷⁾

R. Murphy, having recognized the diversity of scholarly opinion concerning this sapiential Gattung, set forth distinctive form-critical and thematic criteria for the identification of wisdom psalms. The stylistic and linguistic forms which Murphy regarded as typically sapiential and which were present in number of psalms included: 1) אֲשֶׁר- formula, 2) numerical saying, 3) "better" saying, 4) an address of teacher to a "son", 5) alphabetical structure, 6) simple comparison (simile), 7) admonition. The sapiential themes which were presented in a number of psalms included: 1) the contrast between the righteous and the wicked, 2) the problem of retribution, 3) practical advice for proper conduct, 4) the fear of Yahweh with

16. H.L. Jansen, Die spätjüdische Psalmendichtung: ihr Entstehungskreis und ihr 'Sitz im Leben', Oslo, 1937.

17. G.von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, 1972, pp. 48ff.

or without veneration of Torah.⁽¹⁸⁾

K. Kuntz has contributed a detailed analysis of wisdom psalms, a study distinguished not only by a thorough summary of past wisdom psalm research, but also by an explicit delineation of methodological criteria and their application to possible wisdom psalms.⁽¹⁹⁾ These criteria include language (rhetorical/form-critical elements and vocabulary) and theme. With regard to rhetorical/form-critical elements, Kuntz articulates seven which he considers to be primarily, though not exclusively sapiential: 1) the "better saying, 2) the numerical saying, 3) the rhetorical question, 4) the simile, 5) the admonitory address to "son", 6) the admonition, 7) אֶשְׁרֵי - formula. While Kuntz follows the sapiential vocabulary tabulation of Scott⁽²⁰⁾ and considers this useful as a criterion for any comprehensive effort to identify wisdom psalms, he nevertheless notes that this should not be "the truly telling element in our attempt to answer the question, "which are the wisdom psalms?" He then moves into the arena of wisdom themes and primarily concentrates on the following four: 1) the fear of Yahweh and veneration of the Torah, 2) the contrasting life styles of the righteous and the wicked, 3) the reality and inevitability of retribution, 4) miscellaneous counsels on everyday conduct.⁽²¹⁾ Kuntz concludes his incisive investigation by briefly considering two different areas: the delineation of literary structures of wisdom psalms and the possible life-situation in which they arose. Relative to the first consideration, Kuntz places the wisdom psalms within three subcategories which are based on literary structures: 1) sentence wisdom psalms (127, 128, 133), 2) ac-

18. R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'", (SVT 9), 1963, pp. 159-160; He ends his essay by concluding: "We may conclude that it is feasible to speak of

rostic wisdom psalms (34, 37, 112), 3) and integrative wisdom psalms (1, 32, 49). Finally, the possible sociological contexts for the psalms are briefly mentioned, and he suggests possible cultic (temple and synagogue) and non-cultic (home, street, city gate, and court) life situations, though he concludes that this matter continues to defy specific precision.

2. The Life Situation

The life situations for the wisdom literature in general are varied and most difficult to assess. Ch.B. Kayatz has argued for several different life situations, including the tribe or family,⁽²²⁾ the court,⁽²³⁾ and the school.⁽²⁴⁾ Most wisdom scholars would seek their origins in the context of a wisdom school. Though the existence of wisdom schools remains obscured by the lack of explicit evidence, at least with respect to Israelite wisdom literature, the abundance of evidence in the ancient Near East proves beyond question the existence of schools in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and schools of a similar nature must have existed in ancient Israel as well.⁽²⁵⁾

Thus, von Rad, Mowinckel, and Jansen have argued that the wisdom

(continued) wisdom psalms as a literary form parallel to other psalm types. They merit separate classification... Other types of psalms incorporate wisdom elements but remain formally hymns, or thanksgivings, etc."; idem, op. cit., p. 167.

19. K. Kuntz, "The Canonical Wisdom Psalms of Ancient Israel: Their Rhetorical, Thematic, and Form Elements", in: Essays in FS. J. Muilenburg, (Pittsburg Theological Monograph Series 1), 1974, pp. 186-222.
20. R.B.Y. Scott, The Way of Wisdom, (New York: The McMillan Co., 1971), p. 121.
21. J.K. Kuntz, "The Retribution Motif in Psalmic Wisdom", ZAW 89 (1977), pp. 223-233.
22. E. Gerstenberger, Wesen und Herkunft des Apodiktischen Rechts, (WMANT 20), 1965, pp. 110f.

psalms were produced in schools in which the wise sought to instruct their students in different genres of literature, including cultic forms. This occurred in the late post-exilic period when scribes, who were connected with the cult and who were the final collectors of the Psalter, included some of the poetic writings of their predecessors. Consequently, when the wise, who originally were attached to the court in pre-exilic times, became scribes of Torah and found their locus in the post-exilic temple and temple cult, we find them writing wisdom psalms (cf. Ben Sira).⁽²⁶⁾

But, the creation of wisdom psalms is not simply limited to the post-exilic period, most probably some were written in the pre-exilic period, for it is apparent that similar writings had existed for centuries in the wisdom traditions of the ancient Near East, and it would seem that to deny the Israelite wise the ability or interest to write wisdom psalms in the pre-exilic period is without cogency.⁽²⁷⁾

The assumption that those wisdom psalms are not cultic and therefore to be sought in wisdom schools is questioned by Murphy, who objects the basic reason of Mowinckel's ruling out them from cultic use

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23. W. Richter, Recht und Ethos; Versuch einer Ortung des weisheitlichen Mahnspruches, (SANT 15), 1966.
 24. H.J. Hermisson, Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit, (WM ANT 28), 1968, pp. 96f; cf. C.B. Kayatz, Einführung in die alttestamentliche Weisheit, (Biblische Studien 55), 1966, pp.9f.
 25. The use and technique of various musical instruments (Ibid., p. 100. In the legendary narratives concerning Solomon, the wise king, is credited with writing among other wisdom forms 1,005 "songs", a point supporting the argument that the wise composed didactic songs.
 26. S. Mowinckel suggests that such psalms were included in the Psalter due to their possible production as votive stelae written by the sages and then offered by them in the temple; S. Mowinckel, "Psalms and Wisdom", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 216f.
 27. Perdue argues that on the basis of language and themes at least the following show every tendency of being pre-exilic, 19A, 34,

and cultic setting.⁽²⁸⁾ Their relationship to the testimony of the thanksgiving psalms can also be a good argument in favour of their cultic use. Murphy claims that as the testimony took on more and more a didactic character, the role of wisdom within the cultus would have been secured. The late post-exilic dating for the production of the wisdom psalms by some scholars is based on the questionable assumption that the pre-exilic wise were secularists and became religious pietists only in the late post-exilic times.⁽²⁹⁾

The primary question which should concern us, however, is whether the sages intended some of their poetry to be wisdom psalms written for usage in the cult or whether they were merely academic exercises and instructional literature intended for the teaching of sages and school-boys. Unfortunately, well-defined criteria for the determination of wisdom psalms are all too inaccessible⁽³⁰⁾ and the category of wisdom psalms seems, in fact, to be difficult to delimit.

A sharp distinction between the different classes (priests, prophets, scribes, wisemen) is impossible because of their fluctuating social function.⁽³¹⁾ But, on the whole, the Levitical temple singers gradually became interpreters of the Torah and the scribes were wise men as well as belonging to the temple personnel (Neh 13:13; Jer 36:5f, 10f). Wise men were those who produced wisdom poetry: maxim and exhortation in its form, moralistic and didactic in its content, practical wisdom of life in its aim. Though it has a utilitarian charac-

(continued) 49, and 73; L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, (SBL diss. ser. 30), 1977, p. 327, n. 17.

28. R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'", (SVT 9), 1963, p. 161.

29. For example, R.B.Y. Scott, The Way of Wisdom, 1971, pp. 190f.

30. G.von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, 1972, p. 48.

ter, it always has a religious basis.

How was such a poetry included in the collection of cultic psalms? There is no easy solution to such a difficult question. Two possibilities lie before us. One is that they were composed for the instruction of students in the techniques of artistic, literary composition, as well as for the indoctrination of sapiential ideas, in most instances of pious devotion to God. The appearance of wisdom poetry in the Psalter was then due to the activity of scribal redactors. The second possibility is that these wisdom psalms were the contributions of the wise to the creation of liturgical literature, intended to be used in the temple worship.⁽³²⁾

Mowinckel maintained that the learned scribes were closely connected to the temple staffs (singer and temple prophets), they were guardians of the spiritual and literary traditions of the temple, and were the last collectors of the psalms.⁽³³⁾ It is possible that the wisdom psalms were written by temple scribes or sages functioning in the temple school who possessed training in the wisdom traditions, mastery of sapiential language, and instruction in sagacious ideology.

Both possibilities are valid, for some of these poems were used to teach literature and ideology to pupils (see Ps 1, 37, 49, 112,

31. S. Mowinckel, Psalmstudien III, Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen; A.R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, Cardiff, 1962; A. Halidar, Associations of Cultprophets among the Ancient Semites, Uppsala, 1945; cf. S. Mowinckel, "Psalms and Wisdom", (SVT 3), 1955, p. 206.

32. Of course, our lack of detailed knowledge of the Hebrew cultic services keeps us from making any more than a tentative suggestion, but it is possible that during the liturgy a place was given to the recitation of didactic poetry, intended to instruct the cultic assembly. If this were the case, then the didactic poems could have had a cultic function as well; L. G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, pp. 327f, and n. 19.

33. S. Mowinckel, "Psalms and Wisdom", (SVT 3), 1955, pp. 216f.

and 127). Other poems (32, 34, 73), while not intended for use in the cult, do reflect over cultic rituals and dogmas. Still others were intended to be used in the cult (Ps 12A, 19B, 119). While a precise distinction between non-cultic wisdom psalms and cultic wisdom psalms is a difficult one to make, the presence of cultic terms and references (e.g. the cultic shouting of joy, the imperatives to the cultic assembly to praise God, the references to a choir and cultic ritual, and the close similarity of the poem to one of the typical cultic genres: the hymn, lament, or thanksgiving) within a poem that appears to have been the product of the sages, allows us to consider it a legitimate wisdom psalm.

3. The Wisdom Psalms (non-Torah)

The following discussion of the wisdom Psalms fall into two parts. 21
First, those psalms which have wisdom terminology and wisdom themes, but which cannot be classed as Torah psalms. These are dealt with summarily in order to establish their character as wisdom psalm, but without detailed examination of problems of interpretation. Second, those psalms which refer to Torah or to the Torah. These are subjected to fuller discussion.

1) Psalm 32 : Ps 32 is generally classified as a thanksgiving psalm, marked by didactic influence: such as, אֲשַׁמְּרָה י - formula (1-2, 8-11), sapiential theme of offering instruction and counsel (8), admonition (9), saying (10), and invitation (11). To the question which is the predominant element or the determining spirit, the above wisdom elements (1-2, 8-11) are a framework for thanksgiving testimony (3-7). However, the psalm as a whole is not addressed to Yahweh, merely the testimony. Murphy thinks that it deserves to be

classified as a wisdom psalm.⁽³⁴⁾ The wisdom forms are the instruction (8-10) and two אֲשֶׁר־י sayings (1-2). The wisdom vocabulary includes; שכל, ירה, עצה, רמיה, ידע, חרש, דרך, בין, רשע, לב, ישר, צדיק. The wisdom themes are the dichotomy drawn between the wicked (רשע) and the righteous (צדיק, חסיד, ישר), just retribution dispensed by the divine judge (10), and the interpretation of suffering as caused by sin.

2) Psalm 34 : Scholarly opinion has been divided with respect to the genre to which this psalm belongs. M. Dahood⁽³⁵⁾ and Gunkel⁽³⁶⁾ take it as an individual thanksgiving ^{with} wisdom influence in form and content. Gunkel refers to this as a Danklied with sapiential characteristics of the post-exilic period. H.J. Kraus agrees with this.⁽³⁷⁾ H. Schmidt takes it as the combination of an individual thanksgiving and wisdom writing.⁽³⁸⁾ But Murphy takes it as a wisdom psalm with the characteristics of individual thanksgiving.⁽³⁹⁾ We find the following sapiential features: the אֲשֶׁר־י saying in v.9,⁽⁴⁰⁾ positive admonitions with or without the motive clause introduced by כִּי in v. 10, 14, 15, a series of proverbs in vv. 16-23, a rhetorical ques-

34. R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'", p. 162.

35. M. Dahood, Psalms I, (AB), 1966, p. 205.

36. H. Gunkel - J. Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, pp. 276-280.

37. H.J. Kraus, Psalmen I, (BK 15/1), 1960, 1972, p. 267.

38. H. Schmidt, Die Psalmen, (HAT 15), 1934, p. 64.

39. R.E. Murphy, op. cit., pp. 166f.

40. idem, "Interpretation of Old Testament Wisdom Literature", Interpretation 23 (1969), also idem, Introduction to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament, (Collegeville, Minnesota: The liturgical Press, 1965), p. 41.

tion in v.13,⁽⁴¹⁾ and the acrostic framework which in this case is alphabetic.⁽⁴²⁾ Sapiential vocabulary includes the words לֵב, לִמְדָה, צְדִיק, רָשָׁע, and יֵרֵךְ יְהוָה, and the typical sapiential introduction to an instruction לִנְכוּלֵי בָנִים שְׁמָעוּ-לִי יִרְאֵהוּ יְהוָה is also present. Wisdom themes are the typical ones of retribution, the contrast of the wicked and the righteous, and the testing of the thesis in the arena of personal experience (vv.5-7).⁽⁴³⁾ Therefore, the wisdom character is much more explicit than that of Psalm 32.

3) Psalm 37 : Verse 25 of this psalm suggests that it is the work of an old experienced teacher. The content is the problem of retribution and there are frequent references to the צְדִיק-רָשָׁע contrast. Wisdom and the Torah are associated (30f). The instruction is built around a repeated proverb found in certain key positions throughout the poem. The categorization of this psalm as a wisdom composition is easily proven.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The entire poem is an instruction consisting of admonitions, a "better" saying (v.16), scattered didactic proverbs, and the acrostic arrangement. The wisdom language includes the terms יֵשֶׁר, גָּם, עוֹלָה, לֵב, יָדַע, בֵּין, חֲכָמָה, יֵשֶׁר, גָּם, עוֹלָה, לֵב, יָדַע, בֵּין, חֲכָמָה, תוֹרָה, אַחֲרִית, צֶדֶק, and לְשׁוֹן. Typical wisdom themes include the central emphasis of the poem upon the principle of reward and retribution justly meted out to the righteous and the wicked, the contrast of the behaviour of the righteous and the wicked, an evil time,

41. W. Baumgartner, "The Wisdom Literature", in: The OT and Modern Study, H.H. Rowley, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 211.

42. See, H. Wiesmann, "Psalm 34 (Vulg. 33)", Biblica 16 (1935), p. 416; Examples of the acrostic in Hebrew literature include Pss 9,10,25,34,111,112,119, and 145; Lam 1-4; Sir 51:13f.

43. But, the psalm also has characteristics of an individual thanksgiving in vv.1-11; the jussive and cohortative moods יִשְׁמָעוּ, שְׁמָחוּ, אֲבִרְכָה, וְנִרְוַמְצָה, the invitation to join in worship in v.4; reference to his past distress in vv. 5b-7 description of deliverance by "heard" (שָׁמָע) in "answered" (עָנָה)

correct speech, and the late wisdom theme of the guidance of the pious wise by the Torah of Yahweh (v.31).

The phrase תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֵיוּ בְּלִבּוֹ (the Torah of his righteous God is in his heart, v.31) cannot be found exactly paralleled in the post-exilic writings (cf. Is 51:7; Jer 31:33; Ps 40:9; Job 22:22). In Jer 31:33 the prophet, using the oldest expression for covenant making (to cut a covenant) and opposing what was an increasingly limited concept of the Sinai covenant, affirms that God will make a new covenant (32:38-40) inscribed in the hearts of man. Jeremiah once stated that the sin of Judah is engraved on the tablet of the heart (Jer 17:1), Ezekiel expressed this as "a new spirit within" (Ezk 11:19), and Hosea as "the knowledge of God" (Hos 2:20). Is 51:1-8 provide the same background of ideas, which describes the past revelation and future salvation.

Here in Ps 37:31 the knowledge of God (denoted by Torah=instruction) is a present possession of the righteous man, ensuring his security in spite of temporary affliction. This forms a point of contact with the Torah wisdom psalms to be considered below.

The Psalmist exhorts his audience to "roll your way unto God" (גִּזַּל עַל־יְהוָה נִרְכָּיִי = "commit your way unto Yahweh", v.5; cf. Prov 16:3), which refers to the burden of anxiety in life concerning the trueth and to trust in God's action (בָּטַח עַל־יְהוָה יַעֲשֶׂה = "he will do all that is needed").⁽⁴⁵⁾ This was conceived in the

(continued) and "delivered" (פָּרַח, יָשַׁע, נָצַל); and the expression of trust.

44. The classification of this psalm as a wisdom psalm has been almost unanimously accepted by the major wisdom and psalmodic scholars.
45. A.F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, (CB), 1902, 1910, p. 190.

following verse (v.6) as the bringing of his vindication (תְּפִלָּתוֹ) and of the justice which he deserves (תְּשׁוּבָתוֹ). The sage develops his arguments for the validity of the principle of reward and retribution and presents his theodicy by centring upon two temporal ideas found within the structure of wisdom thought: the idea of the "future" and the concept of "time".⁽⁴⁶⁾ The most important nuance is that of the "future" of a man which includes every element of one's hopes for his future: longevity, descendants, success, prosperity, well-being, etc. The sage seizes upon this term to affirm his belief that the wicked have no security and they will be cut off. In addition, the sage grasps the argument of "time" to support his faith in the principle of retribution and the justice of God. In the wisdom tradition, there is the idea of an "evil time" in which those who are foolish and wicked will be utterly decimated (Sir 39:12f). Thus this sage places himself squarely in the category of the pious wise who never question the traditional dogmas of wisdom literature.

4) Psalm 49 : The wisdom character of this psalm is indisputable. It contains characteristic wisdom expressions, such as הָגוֹת, חִכְמוֹת, לֵב, בָּעַר, כֶּסֶל, חִכְמוֹת, חִידָה, אֶשֶׁל, תְּבוּנוֹת, לֵב. It begins with the wisdom teacher's appeal to his audience to listen to his teaching (cf. Prov 8:1ff) and it deals in a highly individual way with the problem of the prosperity of the wicked. Some scholars, notably L.G. Perdue, regard it as a riddle poem,⁽⁴⁷⁾ and emphasis has been laid on the "life and death" situation to which riddles are said

46. L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, p. 285.

47. idem, "The Riddles of Psalm 49", JBL 93 (1974), pp. 533-542, with references to previous literature on the Riddle".

often to be related. The psalm does present death as the universal lot of mankind in emphatic terms, (though this is disputed) expresses hope in a life after death guaranteed to the righteous by God (v.16). A discussion of this difficult problem of interpretation, however, is not relevant to the present survey.

5) Psalm 73 : In regard to content, this psalm is a reflection on the problem of theodicy and has generally been recognized to be a Joban psalm.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The question of the justice of God and the related dogma of retribution is of critical concern. The themes of lament with inner doubts and theological questioning make it so. Therefore, this is to be seen as a product of the wisdom circles. The sapiential vocabulary includes the terms; בֵּין, עֲצָה, יֵשֶׁר, תִּיכַחַת, בָּעֵר, רִשְׁעִים, אֲחֵרִי, נֶאֱוָה, לֵב, אֶשֶׁב, דָּעָה, עַל. Wisdom themes include the questioning of the justice of God, retribution, the contrast of the wicked and the righteous, and the answer to the problems of theodicy. As in 49:16, there is a possible but disputed assertion of life after death in v.24, which it is not our present concern to discuss.

6) Psalm 127 : This psalm appears to be a collection of Proverbs, for it contains two "strophes" of proverbial materials; two conditional proverbs (v.1), an admonition (v.4), a synonymous proverb (v.3), a comparative proverb (v.4) and אֶשְׁרֵי-saying (v.5). The two sapiential themes are "labour done in vain" and "the blessing of sons". In the first strophe the speaker tells of his past suffering which is followed by confession of sin, forgiveness and salvation from God, and admonition to do likewise. In the second strophe, the speaker

48. The psalm has been classified as a thanksgiving by H. Schmidt, as a didactic psalm by Gunkel, and mixture by Kraus; H. Schmidt, Die Psalmen, p. 140; H. Gunkel, Die Psalmen, p. 312; H.J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 504.

announces his intent to instruct his students concerning his own iniquity. Admonition is given in the form of prohibition in which a metaphorical comparison is drawn between the wicked stubborn fool who refuses to swallow his pride, and the disobedient rebellious horse which lacks self-control and rejects the "guidance" of bridle and bit. The comparison is made by the sage in order to convince the young students to adhere to his counsel. This segment of the instruction is the typically antithetical proverb pertaining to retribution: only the wicked suffer greatly. Perdue regards this poem as intended for the instruction of young pupils.⁽⁴⁹⁾

4. Torah in the Wisdom Psalms

1) Psalm 78 : This is one of a group of psalms which recite the history of God's dealings with Israel and apply the lessons of Israel's history (78, 105, 106, 135, 136). They may well have had an important place in ritual usage and could have been composed for use of the major festivals.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The references to the rejection of the northern tribes and of the sanctuary at Shiloh (vv. 59f, 67) and to the choice of Judah, the Jerusalem sanctuary, and the Davidic dynasty (vv. 68-71) make so early a date improbable. Some features suggest Deuteronomic influence; the glorification of Zion, the reference to imparting to coming generations the knowledge of God's mighty acts (vv. 3-7; cf. Dt 4:9; 6:7), and the occurrence of a fair amount of wisdom terminology (see below).

The psalm begins with a wisdom-type appeal to listeners to heed the message which is to follow; and we may note the occurrence of the wisdom terms עַשֵׂל and חִדְיוֹר (v.2), following the coupling of "my

49. L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, p. 303.

50. G.W. Anderson, "Psalms", in: Peake's Commentary, p. 429.

Torah" and "the words of my mouth" (v.1) a type of phraseology which has been noted in our earlier discussion of wisdom. "Torah" here refers unmistakably to the teaching which is to follow and is therefore, used in a general sense. In v. 5, however, where it is parallel to *אֶת־דְּבָרֶיךָ* and is followed by *צִוְיָהּ*, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the reference is to a corpus of written instruction or even legislation. Later in the psalm *תִּרְהוּ* is parallel to *בְּרִית* (v.10), where a similar conclusion may be drawn. The occurrence of the Deuteronomic phraseology (e.g. *נִצַּר מֵעַתָּה* in v.7, *סִוֵּר וּמִרָה* in v.8, *עָמַר* and *הִלַּךְ* in v.10, *עֲדָתִינוּ* and *אֲמוֹתָינוּ* in v.43, *לֹא שָׁמְרוּ* in v.56) lends strong support to the view that the psalm not only reflects Deuteronomic influence, but that it is a poetic counterpart to the Deuteronomistic history, with its homiletical prologues and its close connection with the twin concepts of election and covenant and its links with at least a nucleus of written Torah. Further, the psalm demonstrates the characteristic combination of wisdom with the Deuteronomic tradition and indicates their living relationship with the cult.

2) Psalm 1 : This is the most obvious example of a Torah Wisdom psalms. Most scholars have classified it as a wisdom psalm.⁽⁵¹⁾ It contains sapiential features: the *אֶשְׁרֵי*-formula,⁽⁵²⁾ with parab-

51. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, (KHAT 14), Tübingen: JCB Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1899, p.1; M. Dahood, *Psalms I*, (AB), 1966, p.1; H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, (HAT 16), Göttingen, 1926, p.1; H.J. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, (BK 15), 1961, p.2; H. Jansen, *Die spätjüdische Psalmendichtung*, Oslo, 1937, p.136; I. Engnell regards this psalm as originally a royal, cultic psalm, due to the motif of the "tree of life", I. Engnell, *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen*, (Einar Munksgaard, 1953), pp. 85-96; Lipinski regards this as a "psalm of congratulations" extended to pilgrims who, having been healed from illness, are granted access to the temple area to worship God; E. Lipinski, "Macarismes et psaumes de congratulation", *RB* 75 (1968), p. 338.

lic sayings (vv. 3-4),⁽⁵³⁾ and an antithetical proverb.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The sapiential terminology present in the poem includes חטאים, רשעים, עצה, חכמה, צדק, and צדיקים.⁽⁵⁵⁾ As regards sapiential themes, the content is taken from the simple proverb found at the end of the poem in v.6⁽⁵⁶⁾ with contrast of the fate of the righteous and the wicked, which is dealt out in terms of the just retributive system of rewards and punishments by the Lord, the guardian of retribution.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In vv. 1-2 three terms (חכמה, עצה, and ישוב) are used by the sage

52. The 'אֲשֶׁר' formula has been extensively investigated by Waldemar Jansen, "Israel in the OT", HTR 58 (1965), pp. 215f. He drew the conclusion that אֲשֶׁר should be translated "to be envied", for it is an expression issuing forth from one who makes the exclamation concerning another person who is in a more enviable position than he. Lipinski (op. cit. p. 321f) claims that the form originated in the language of the cult, and not that of wisdom. This is based upon his antithesis between wisdom and cult, and his presupposition that this psalm is entirely cultic and contains no wisdom forms. But, Perdue says that this form occurs 26 times out of 45 occurrences in sapiential contexts and the majority of the remaining 19 are in contexts either influenced by wisdom language or redacted by wisdom scribes; L. G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, p. 329, n. 23. e/
53. Parabolic saying and parables are common in ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature, and are most often used to illustrate gnomic sayings, see Koh 9:13-16; 10:27; Ps 37:18,28.
54. Similar proverbs are found in Prov 3:33; 10:27; Ps 18:28.
55. For a tabulation of wisdom vocabulary, see R.B.Y. Scott, The Way of Wisdom, p. 121.
56. L.G. Perdue, op. cit., p. 269.
57. In view of the total incidence of wisdom themes in Ps 1-41, that is, 31,32, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, it is very tempting to see here evidence that this first book (Ps 1-41) was put together under particular influence of wisdom writers from the beginning to end. Both Ps 1 and 41 are אֲשֶׁר-psalms; R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'", (SVT 9), 1963, p. 162.
58. In addition to the frequently occurring חטאים, רשעים, is also found in wisdom literature; Prov 1:3; 13:21; 23:17; and so is חכמה: Prov 1:22; 9:7,8; 15:12; 13:1; 14:6; 24:9 etc.

to describe metaphorically the behaviour of the righteous man who does not associate with the wicked, and comprise the basic positions of the human body; such as, "walking", "standing", and "sitting". The sagacious poet also demonstrates his flair for synonyms by referring to the wicked by three nouns of comparison: רשעים, חטאים, and פְּסָלִים, terms found in wisdom literature to denote those kinds of behaviour opposed to the mores and laws of the righteous society based on the just order of the cosmos.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The tree parable in v. 3 is common to the literatures of the ancient Near East, as may be seen in Amen-em-ope IV, Jer 17:5-8; and Ezk 29:1-5.⁽⁵⁹⁾ We also find the late developing wisdom theme of meditating on the instruction of Yahweh, the Torah.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Perdue takes the phrase, "but rather his delight is in the Torah of the Lord, and in his law he meditates both day and night" as an insertion by a pious scribe who wishes to emphasize that the one who is truly righteous finds guidance for his life in the meditation on Torah. This is closely paralleled by Josh 1: 8 which is part of the sapientially influenced redaction of the Deuteronomistic history. Thus both may have been the result of the sapiential redaction by Torah sages.⁽⁶¹⁾

59. Amen-em-ope describes the "silent man" as a fruitful and the "heated man" as a desiccated tree. The close parallel in Jer 17:5-8 has produced the suggestion that Ps 1 may have borrowed the parabolic saying from Jeremiah. However, we follow Hyatt's conclusion that the passage in Jeremiah "is more likely ... to have been comprised by a part of the wisdom school, especially since the parabolic saying is found in a larger, sapiential context in Jeremiah;" see v. 9f; J.P. Hyatt, Jeremiah, (IB 5) 1956, p. 952.

60. This is common in Sira and the Torah Psalms.

61. L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, p. 330, n. 34.

If we take נָסַח as meaning not counsel but council,⁽⁶²⁾ the righteous way is implied to be as "assembly" or "associate" with the Torah instead of receiving advice or counseling out of Torah. The "delight in the Torah" (יָדַן) could mean the affection or joyful response to the revelation of Yahweh's will acknowledging the meaning of his grace, which is what the Torah is all about. The Deuteronomic conception of Torah may very well be the written will of Yahweh for the happiness of men, the on-going will of God to save man. The Torah here could be taken as meaning teaching or instruction (not a precept or a body of laws) or Mosaic instruction. The verb of v. 2b נִחַן (meditate=RSV) is not only reflective thinking but also is a sort of murmuring.⁽⁶³⁾ If we take this antithetically with v. 1, what is negated in v. 1 could have implication for the way of the righteous. As Prof. G. W. Anderson suggests, the possible interpretation of three phases in Ps 1:1 are 1) "adopting the principles of" for "walking in the counsel of", 2) "persisting in the practices of" for "standing in the way of", 3) and "consorting with" for "sitting in the seat of" the Torah.⁽⁶⁴⁾ If we accept Kirkpatrick's claim of the possible stages of deterioration of man's conduct and character,⁽⁶⁵⁾ we could also imagine the possible stages of form and degree of delight of man's dedication to the Torah. A kind of climactic progression may be seen in the different phases of the same quality.

In verse three the man was symbolized as a tree, which is not rare

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62. J.A. Soggin, "Zum ersten Psalm", TZ 23 (1967), p. 84; although Prof. G.W. Anderson sees no good reason for departing from "counsel"; cf. G.W. Anderson, "A Note on Psalm 1:1", VT 24 (1974), pp. 231f.
63. Sich-selvestverlesen; cf. H.J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, p.9.
64. G.W. Anderson, op. cit., p. 23.
65. A.F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, p. 3.

in OT (Jer 11:19; Ezk 17:5ff), and the Torah, as the river in which the water of life flows: the riverside tree is compared to a man's life, health, growth, fruit, in which there is delight and zeal. Unlike the chaff (זר), the Torah-delighter will not be dispersed (תָּפִי) nor alienated from the community of God's righteousness ("stand in the judgement", v.5). "God knows the way" refers to the life cared for and guided by God.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The יָדָה in OT conveys the sense of acceptance, inner-relationship, nearness, and care, which the Torah is meant to provide. The idea of the two ways may reflect the infusion of the theology of retribution.

3) Psalm 19 : Most scholars have viewed Ps 19:1-7 as a hymn,⁽⁶⁷⁾ but the structure (which is shaped around the two cosmological riddles in v. 4-5 and 6-7,⁽⁶⁸⁾ the wisdom themes (God ^{is} Creator and the knowledge of Him through the order of creation, which are typical wisdom motives), the metaphorical depiction of sun-god as the retributive judge and overseer,⁽⁶⁹⁾ and the wisdom vocabulary (though limited in number: חָכְמָה, אֱדָרָה, and אֱלֹהִים) allow us to identify this psalm as a wisdom psalm.

19B is a praise of Torah, which consists of a comparative saying (v.11) and a rhetorical question (v.13).⁽⁷⁰⁾ The wisdom themes are

66. H.J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, (BK 15/1), p. 9.

67. H. Gunkel, Die Psalmen, p. 74; H.J. Kraus, op. cit., p. 152; M. Dahood, Psalms I, (AB), p. 31.

68. First recognized by Torczyner, "The Riddles in the Bible", HUCA 1 (1924), p. 141; cf. L.G. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, 1977, p. 319.

69. The riddle's special languages is to be found in ancient Near East mythological texts, which speaks of the sun-god as a "hero, mighty one"; J. Morgenstern, "Psalms 8 and 19A", HUCA 19^h (1945/46), pp. 491-523. e p

70. H. Gunkel, points to the rhetorical question in "I will Praise the Lord of Wisdom", (Tablet II, 11:36-38) as a parallel, H. Gunkel, Die Psalmen, (HAT 11/2), p. 79.

the dogma of retribution (v.12), exhortation of Torah, and its identification with wisdom (v. 8-10). The wisdom vocabulary includes:

תורה , לב , ישר , חכם , רצון , תם , בין , תורה (Prov 29:13;

Koh 8:1), יראת-יהוה , and צדק . Therefore, Ps 19 is a wisdom

psalm of praise to God as the Creator of nature (vv.1-7) and as the Giver of the Torah (vv.8-15). Mowinckel stated that this ardour for law, with its power-filled saving qualities, has some connection with an ancient hymn to the sun and presents the Torah as the outstanding work of his creation, as enlightening and life-giving as the sun.⁽⁷¹⁾

But, the clear-cut division may reflect two separate understandings of God's revelation: the revelation of God through creation and God's revelation through history, which the author of Ps 19 has intended to combine.

In Ps 19:1-7 the glory of God manifested in the phenomena of the heavens and particularly in the might of sun is praised. The sky, the firmament, day, and night are personified as members of a choir singing God's praise, which can not be heard by human ears. Ps 19: 8-15 praises the revelation of God's will in the Mosaic Torah in order to counter-balance what seemed to the author the almost pagan emphasis upon the revelation of God in nature.

The two comparisons metaphorically describe the Torah as "sweeter than honey" and "more desirable than gold". The former one emits an exultant praise of the superb qualities and beneficent merits of Torah, latter describes the Torah as a tutor which instructs one in the awareness of sin and upon the basis of that important knowledge allows the informed devotee to ask God for forgiveness.

The author lined up 6 synonyms for Torah, 6 predicate adjective

71. S. Mowinckel, "Psalms and Wisdom", (SVT 3), 1955, p. 217.

descriptive of Torah, and 6 different verbs for his laudatory praise of Torah, a formal structure quite comparable to Psalm 119. The identification of wisdom with Torah is comparable to Sira.

The content of vv.12-14 is also comparable to Psalm 119 in that it consists of a penitential prayer,⁽⁷²⁾ in which the sage, being tortured by Torah, recognizes his sins, repents, and seeks forgiveness. The sins implied are those done inadvertently or in ignorance (שג' ח'ה), presumptuous sin (ז' in v.14), and rebellion (ז' in v.14). The forgiveness of sin and guidance for avoiding sin is expected in connection with the function of Torah.

4 The phrase מְשִׁיבָה נֶפֶשׁ ("reviving the soul") is not to be understood as "returning of soul", but reviving the life", or "restoring the refreshness and invigorating one's true nature" as the food appeases hunger or comfort alleviates sorrow.⁽⁷³⁾ The phrase עֲדוּת יְהוָה usually translated "testimony" in the OT (cf. high'il of עוֹד, which means repeat, admonish, testify), denoting the "reminder", possibly, of God's will and man's duty (Ex 25:16-21), and in many instances "The content^s of Ark" according to the priestly tradition (Ex 25:16,21; cf. 40:20). According to Ex 31:7 Bezaleel and Oholiab made the Ark for the testimonies, and the Ark became "the Ark of testimonies" (אֲרוֹן עֲדוּת cf. Ex 25:22; 26:23,34; 30:6,26; 39:35; 40:3,5,21; Num 4:5; 7:89; Josh 4:16).

The עֲדוּת יְהוָה (the tablets of testimony) are said to have been written by God's finger. The plural עֲדוּת almost always indicates God's testimonies; only once it is paralleled to בְּרִית (II Kg 17:15). In every other case it appears in parallel with מִשְׁפָּטִים, חֻקִּים, וְעֲדוּת יְהוָה,

72. H.J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 153; H. Gunkel, Die Psalmen, p. 204.

73. A.F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, p. 10.

פְּקֻדֵּי. Yahweh has commanded Moses to announce the testimonies to Israel and Israel to keep them (Dt 4:45, where it refers to Decalogue).

In Ps 19:8 the quality of תּוֹרַת יְהוָה is described as אִמְלֵא . For the sacrificial offering אִמְלֵא means "blameless" or "without defect" but in the sphere of legal wisdom it conveys a meaning of "sufficiency".⁽⁷⁴⁾ The basic meaning of אִמְלֵא has the quality of being complete and without flaw. Therefore, it means that it will not misguide or fail.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In this case the Torah is to be understood as written "instruction" "teaching" "doctrine of God's way and work".⁽⁷⁶⁾ By the use of this predicate adjective, we are sure that this Torah is informed by much Deuteronomic presupposition. It is closed and written Torah which is read (Dt 31:9-11; Is 1:7; Ps 1:7) and includes the will of God, the right of God, and history.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The עֲרֵי is described as נֶאֱמָן, meaning "steady", "defendable", trustworthy" and it is said to make the simple wise. The Syriac translation for אִשָּׁר ("simple" or "inexperienced man") is ܐܝܬܐ ("infant").

Five synonyms of Torah, עֲרֵי, פְּקֻדָּה, מִצְוָה, מִשְׁפָּט, אֱמֻנָה, were used to describe the saving quality of the Torah. The term פְּקֻדָּה (the root פֻּקַּד means "visit" and appears 21 times in Ps 119) originally meant things constituting a man's obligation, and it is said to be as מִשְׁפָּט (rights). It brings joy to the heart (מִשְׂמֵחַ), causes the mind to exult, and makes glad the heart with the joy of moral satisfaction.⁽⁷⁸⁾

The commandments (מִצְוָה) is another synonym of the Torah. Proc-

74. H.J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, (BK 15/1), pp. 158f.

75. A.F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, (CB), p. 105.

76. Ibid., p. 105.

77. H.J. Kraus, op. cit., p. 157.

78. A.F. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 105.

ksch states that the commandment was originally the term for the right of the king and was used by kings (I Kg 2:43; II Kg 18:36; Esth 3:3; Neh 11:23; 12:24; II Ch 8:14f; 24:21; 29:15,25; 30:6,12; 35:10,15f),⁽⁷⁹⁾ but Bauckmann is not convinced because, as he points out, it was also used of the fathers (Jer 35:6ff) and of teachers (Prov 2:1; 3:1; 4:4; 7:1f; etc).⁽⁸⁰⁾ It deals with the command and prohibition (e.g. II Kg 18:36),⁽⁸¹⁾ or anything imposed by a person in authority.⁽⁸²⁾ The plural of נְטַל appears in Deuteronomy, Deuteronomistic writings, and Chronicles, mostly accompanying other synonyms of Torah. The commandment is said to be pure, נָקִי , and to enlighten the eyes.

In v. 10 נִינִי נִכְרִי is taken as another synonym of Torah, because the aim of the Torah is "the fear of Yahweh" (Dt 4:10). It has been proposed to read this as נִכְרִי (word, promise), Ps 119:38 being cited in support. Dahood reads it as נִכְרִי (=command) on the basis of Ugaritic m r' .⁽⁸³⁾ Since we have an indirect suggestion of the same idea in Ps 119:79: "Let those who fear thee turn to me that they will know their testimonies", it is natural to retain MT, because the idea of "the fear of Yahweh" is in full accord with the Deuteronomic theology of covenant law. The fear of Yahweh is said to be pure (נִינִי = clean) and to endure forever. The suggestion is that it is a light to men and immortal. In many

79. O. Procksch, Theologie des Alten Testament, 1950, pp. 564f.

80. G. Bauckmann, "Die Proverbien und die Sprüche des Jesus Sirach", ZAW 72 (1960), pp.37f.

81. G. Liedke, " נִכְרִי ", in : Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT, II. 1971, col. 191.

82. This seems most clear in Jer 35:14, 16,18; where it refers to the command of the clan father; cf. Jensen, The Use of tora by Isaiah, p. 29, fn.6.

83. M. Dahood, Psalms I, (AB), p. 123f.

places the Torah is said to be the light (Prov 6:23; Ps 119:105,13c), which is pure and clean (Dt 12:6; cf. Hab 1:13). Its righteousness is said to be immortal (Prov 1:15).

The ordinance, וְדִשְׁנָה , when it is spoken by God, means "judgement" "sentence" or "verdict" (Is 3:14; 30:18; Ezk 39:21; Zeph 3:5,8; Job 40:8; etc), but it can also be the "arrangement", "regulation", "way", "method", or "right" of God, (II Kg 17:26f; Is 51:4; 58:2; Jer 5:4f; 8:7; Hos 6:5).⁽⁸⁴⁾ But it never was meant to be the law code. In the plural it almost always meant casuistic legal maxims incorporated into Yahweh's rightful claim.⁽⁸⁵⁾ "The ordinance, the legal decision or judgement, is said to be true and "righteous all together" (RSV), more desirable than fine gold (V. 11a) and sweeter than the dripping honeycomb. It is the treasure to be coveted and enjoyed in the heart (Ps 119:72, 103,127).

By these Israel was warned (וְנִתְּנָה =enlightened/warned) and in keeping them Israel was greatly rewarded (וְנִתְּנָה). Priests usually defined the sins and prophets warned the people. In v. 13 the author went further to the moral problem of secret faults: "who can discern the hidden fault?" (וְנִתְּנָה). The moral problem of hidden offenses, or culpable errors by the lapse of ignorance or inadvertence is taken up in the early stage of Torah development, such as, Lev 4:1ff,13; 5:2; Num 15:22 in the Holiness code. The prayer addressed to God (vv. 12-15) concerns not only the deliberate transgression of Torah against God, but also וְנִתְּנָה : the word occurs only here and is usually taken to be a synonym of וְנִתְּנָה = a

84. H.W. Wolff, Hosea, (BK 14/1), 1961, p. 152.

85. G. Liedke, "Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentliche Rechtssätze", Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT, Vol. II. col. 1009.

sin of error or inadvertence (cf. Lev. 4: num. 15:22-31). In v. 14 he prays that God will prevent him from succumbing, to the domination of the presumptuous sins, or, arrogantmen ($\square' \gamma' \gamma' \gamma'$, whose root $\gamma' \gamma'$ or $\gamma' \gamma'$ means "to boilup", "seethe", "act presumptuously".⁽⁸⁶⁾ The author earnestly prays to remain in the state of blamelessness, .

When M. Noth examined ^{the} relation between the Torah and covenant, he claimed that the law became to an absolute, unconditionally valid authority to which man must adjust himself and bear the result of his adjustment,⁽⁸⁷⁾ he missed the spiritual Torah piety of Ps 1, 19B, and 119, which go beyond the extent of covenant. Kraus has made three things very clear: 1) The conception of Torah at first was not legalistic, but the manifestation of the gracious will of God. It was not only "die gnädige willensäusserung Jahwes", but also the instruction and direction in the sense of marking out a way, 2) The Torah psalms unanimously suggest that the Torah was never a rigid, lifeless power holding absolute validity, but rather an effective, efficient, operational power, or the living address of God, from which emanate light and holiness (ps 119:105,130). 3) The adjustment of man to the Torah, which is characterized by joy, love, does not carry any nomistic sense of unconditional binding.⁽⁸⁸⁾

4) Psalm 119 : The meditation on the Torah of God in Ps 119 runs to 176 verses. This unusual length is combined with a highly artificial structure. It is an alphabetical acrostic (cf. Pss 9-10, 25, 34, 111, 112, 145) in which each stanza⁽⁸⁹⁾ consists of eight lines all

86. LXX's ἀλλοτρίων (wilful) could be a misreading $\square' \gamma' \gamma'$ for $\square' \gamma' \gamma'$.

87. M. Noth, "Die Gesetze im Pentateuch", in: Gesammelte Studien zum AT, (TB 6), 1957, p. 127.

88. H-J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, (BK 15/2), p. 157ff.

89. A similar framework to that of an Accadian "Dialogue about the Human Misery", so-called "Babylonian Koheleth"; J. Pritchard, ANET, 1955, pp. 438-440.

beginning with same Hebrew letter (adopted perhaps as an aid to memory).

Most scholars have argued for including this psalm among the wisdom psalms.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This is the most extensive and well-structured expression of the spirit of sapiential piety. The wisdom forms include: 'שְׁפָרָה -sayings (v. 1-2), the catechetical question and answer (v. 9), and two "better" sayings (v. 72, 127). The wisdom themes are the identification of wisdom and Torah,⁽⁹¹⁾ the veneration of Torah,⁽⁹²⁾ the fear of Yahweh, the prayer for wisdom, the efficiency of righteous prayer, God as Creator and overseer of the world order, retribution, and suffering as chastisement. The wisdom vocabulary includes לִמְדָה, צְדָקָה, יִשְׁרָאֵל, חָכְמָה, דַּעַת, יָדָע, חָשַׁב, שִׁחַ, יָרָה, עָצָה, בִּין, חָכַם, עוֹלָה, נֹתִינָה, לֵב, חוֹשׁ, דֶּרֶךְ, יִשְׂרָאֵל, פֶּתִי, שִׁכַּל, עוֹת, רָכַב, and תָּם.

The number "8" results from the 8 major synonyms for Torah: אֶתְרָה, דְּבַר, מִצְוָה, חֻק, עֲדוּת, תּוֹרָה, מִשְׁפָּט, and פְּקוּדָה. Each strophe contains from 6 to 9 of these synonyms and only three lines contain none of these words for law (vv. 3, 30 122). Repetitions are numerous (in addition to the 8 major synonyms for law) of the words: שִׁמְרָה/נִצָּר, ה'ה, שָׁכַח, טוֹב, רָשָׁע, רָאָה, בִּין, זָדוֹנִים, צָדָק, לֵב. This psalm borrows heavily from the form of lament in which an individual asks God to deliver him from his suffering and his persecutor, and bases his plea on his past devotion. In addition, the author asks for a bestowal of additional wisdom by God avoid further mistakes.

90. G.W. Anderson, "Psalms", Peake's Commentary, 1962, 384b; A. Deissler, Psalm 119 (118) und seine Theologie, (Münchener Theologische Studien II), München: Karl Zink Verlag, 1955, pp. 269f.

91. Not only Pentateuch, but also the prophetic and sapiential writings as well; G.W. Anderson, "Psalms", Peake's Commentary, pp. 806f.

92. H-J. Kraus, "Freude an Gottes Gesetz", EvTh 10 (1951), pp. 337-351

favour, way, and truth for life, rather than as warning, curse, judgement or obligation. The Torah was conceived as containing the wondrous things (נִסֵּי חַדְשֵׁי) of God (vv. 27,18,129,129), as God's faithfulness (אֱמֻנָה in v. 90), God's steadfast love (חַסֵּד in vv. 41,124,159,64), or as God's dealing with his people (v. 65).

The main theme of Torah is God's wonderful acts and steadfast love.

The Torah was understood as true (vv. 86,151), just (vv. 172,144), good (v. 39), perfect (v. 96), everlasting (vv. 160,89,112), and tasty (v. 103 טַעַם... חֶסֶד). Regarding its function, the author confesses that it teaches him (vv. 12,26,33,64,71,124,135,171), gives insight (vv. 134,73) and understanding (vv. 99,32,104,130), and makes him wiser (vv. 98,98). It is not only that the Torah educates man in a way God favours (v. 79), in His judgement (v. 66) or blessing (v. 56), but that the Torah guides man (v. 35) to the fear of Yahweh (vv. 38,120), to hope (v. 49), and to liberty (v. 41). The Torah is seen as the source of help which keeps man from shame (vv. 6,31,46,80,116), from scorn or blame (vv. 22,17,71), and from vanity (v. 37). The Torah gives light (vv. 105,130), revives and preserves life (vv. 25,50,93, 56,159).

The verbs used for the man's attitude toward the Torah are predominantly positive and affirmative: "love", "keep", and "learn" are found 72 times, while negative terms, like "forsake" and "forget" are found only 16 times. The most exclusive verb for חֻקִּים (statutes) is יָדַע (learn, vv. 12,26,64,68,71,124,135,171), which is used only once each for אִשָּׁה and עֲשֵׂה. The almost exclusive verb for דָּבָר (word) is הִתְקַדַּחְתִּי (I have hoped vv. 74,81,114,147), which occurs only once for עֲשֵׂה. The predominant verb for חֻקִּים and מִצְוָה is שָׁמַע

(keep, v. 63,134,168, = ךִּיְפֹד and vv. 88,146,167,168= לִי־יִשְׁׁלֵׁם / לִי־יִשְׁׁלֵׁם). The predominant verbs for Torah are יִיָּחַד (love, vv. 97,113,163, 165) and $\text{נִשְׁכַּח$ (forget, vv. 61,109,153). Another verb for יִיָּחַד is יִיָּחַד (love, v. 47,48,127).

Though there are acknowledgements of divine justice (vv. 73-80, 137-144), recognition of the disciplinary value of suffering (vv. 65-72), expressions of confidence during persecution (vv. 49-56, 113-120), and declarations of devotion and loyalty (vv. 57-64, 121-128), the dominant aspect of this psalm is prayer for help (vv. 1-8, 9-16, 17-24, 41-48, 73-80, 105-112, 113-120, 129-136, 153-160) with plea (vv. 81-88) and cry (vv. 145-152) for deliverance. Although there is zeal to understand the Torah, fidelity to it, faith in its beauty and sweetness, and praise of it, this Psalm reflects the period of misery of those loyal Jews under the foreign power.

The intention behind this psalm is to make God's Torah the governing principle of conduct, so that the reader may submit the whole of life to the will of God with unquestioning faith in His providence and unfailing love.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The Torah was valued as the highest good (v. 72), as the embodiment of reliability and stability (v. 142), and as salvation-making and life-renewing.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Does this psalm contain a certain germ of Pharisaic legalism? Many commentators deny any such aspect in this psalm; Kirkpatrick claims that the author takes the Torah as the guide of life, and kindles the

96. A.F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, (CB), p. 700.

97. H-J. Kraus, Die Psalmen, (BK 15/2), p. 821.

enthusiasm and allegiance to it, but it is no rigid code of commands and prohibitions, but a body of teaching. Nowhere does the author allow the Torah to interfere between man and God, nor suggest any substitution of the observance of external rules for the inward devotion of the heart. Though some of his professions of obedience seem to savor of self-righteousness, his prayer for grace testifies that the strength to obey comes from God. Torah was never static but a life-creating creative force, and was never impersonal but an out-reaching word from God.

As Kraus sees it, the descriptions of the Psalmist's action and attitude, obey, love, seek, look for, hope, wait, learn, etc. are a continuation and development of the Deuteronomic attitude. (98) The inward presentactualization that Ps 119 upholds is characteristic of the Deuteronomic instruction and its theology (eg. Dt 4:39; 6:6; 30:14). Therefore, we may be allowed to see the link between the Deuteronomic circle and the Torah-pietism in Ps 119.⁽⁹⁹⁾ It might be the fact that the relationship between God and the people of Israel or between God and the kingdom of Israel has been reshaped into the relationship between God and the individual. To learn the proper relationship between God and the individual, one has to refer to the Torah.

However, it is remarkable that a psalm, emanating from the period in which the ritual law was codified and the temple became the centre of Israel's religion, should contain no reference whatever to ceremony or sacrifice. Doubtless the psalmist could have included the ceremonial

98. Ibid., p. 822.

99. Kraus asserts that this Torah-pietism originated in the writing arena of the Deuteronomic theology, which produced the cultic Torah-instruction corresponding to the impulse of the wisdom teaching; Ibid., p. 822

law as a part of God's commandments, but evidently he does not regard it as the principal part of Torah. There is no tendency to substitute mechanical observance of rules for the living application of principles.

The contempt (vv. 23, 39, 42), the ill-treatment (vv. 121, 134), and the dangers of life (vv. 87, 109) for the adherents to the Torah suggest the identification of the persecutors not with the heathen but with the faithless Israelites. The phrases such as "those forsakers of God's Torah" (vv. 53, 21, 139) or those who are indifferent if not apostate (vv. 113, 58, 126) demonstrate the Psalmist's resistance to temptation (v. 118, 119), his earnest prayer for fuller knowledge of the Torah and for strength to keep it, and the idea of God's loving discipline in trial (v. 50, 67, 71, 75, 107, 153). These factors speak more about the unusual situation of the Israelites than about the milieu of religious legalism.

CONCLUSION

The early Hebrew wisdom was a part of the cultural pattern of ancient Near East, and presupposes a long period of preparation and development until it reaches its peak. The early wisdom was an ability to get on in the world, primarily shrewdness for success in life, which begins from observation of natural phenomena, social order, and their relationship. The Israelite wisdom movement goes back at least to the time of the early monarchy, and was expounded mainly by the parents and teachers in the family and in school, by the scribes in the royal court, and by the priests in the temples. Its content was utilitarian and secular with some theological tone, and certainly lacks some of the most characteristic elements of Israelite tradition.

The distinctive nature of the early Hebrew wisdom was neither the idea of the pre-existence of wisdom, not its personification, not even its creation theology, but emphasis on the fear of Yahweh, which establishes a close relationship between wisdom and faith, and which pervades the story of Joseph, the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writings. The creation theology, the doctrine of retribution, and the fear of Yahweh, which are found in Proverbs and Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic writings, can also be found in Ben Sira. But, the main thematic lines that run through the OT wisdom books are the problem of retribution and the fear of Yahweh.

In Proverbs it is evident that the parental instruction, especially of the mother, was the origin of the Torah, which is used in a general way denoting the instruction given by parents/teacher within the family circle, without any suggestion of the conception of the law of Yahweh from Moses. The wisdom usage of Torah is not to be considered as a development of the post-exilic period.

Deuteronomy was not an enumeration of legal standards, but exhortation and sermon drawn from history with a didactic intention, and was more interested in ethics than in ritual. The Deuteronomic rehearsal of history testifies to Yahweh as the Lord of history. While Proverbs is a form of wisdom drawn from the experience of the elders, the history is another form of wisdom drawn from the collective experience of their forefathers. The Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writings are another Torah, which laid out the historical traditions in the form of a national instruction. Torah remained as the functional form of wisdom.

The Torah in the exilic and post-exilic period acquired an ever-increasing independent importance and primary significance. The prominent status of priest as Torah-giver is replaced by the scribal study of the Torah which has become an increasingly independent task and a new profession for giving religious guidance to the people.

In Ben Sira the Torah began to have the character of the book of life, the content of which is all the wisdom in the past. Torah became the wisdom. As in later rabbinic thought, the major learning of wisdom is an interpretation and exposition of the Torah. Ben Sira maintains that all wisdom is the fear of Yahweh, and that the fear of Yahweh is the fulfilment of the Torah.

We can observe this identification between the Torah and wisdom in the wisdom psalms. The wisdom psalms are a profound theological connection between the Torah as the revelation of God's wisdom and the man's fear of Yahweh as a manifestation of wisdom. In Psalm 1 it is emphasised that the truly righteous will find guidance for life in his meditation on Torah. The righteous one is meant to be a man who associates himself with the Torah, receives advice out of the Torah, and

joyfully responds to the revelation of Yahweh's will. In this sense the Torah is described as the source of life, health, growth, and fruits.

In Psalm 19B, the nature of the Torah is described as trustworthy or sufficient, and the five synonyms of Torah describe the saving quality of the Torah, which brings the joy of moral satisfaction. In addition the fear of Yahweh is also taken as another synonym of Torah, implying that the aim of the Torah is the fear of Yahweh. The Torah was not seen as legalistic but as the manifestation of the gracious will of God. It never was a rigid, lifeless power holding absolute validity, but rather an effective, efficient, operational working power and the living address of God, from which emanates light and holiness.

In Psalm 119, the nature of Torah is understood as promise, kindness, salvation, mercy, favour, way, and truth for life rather than as warning, curses, judgements, or obligation. The main theme of the Torah was conceived as God's wonderful acts and steadfast love. The intention to make God's Torah the governing principle of the conduct with unquestioning faith in His providence and unfailing love is clear in the abundance of expressions to describe the function and quality of the Torah. Torah was never a static or rigid code of commands or prohibitions but a life-creating creative force, and never impersonal but the out-reaching word of God, without any tendency to substitute mechanical observance of rules for the living application of principles.

The way of life centred in the Torah cannot be termed legalism. The essential force is the constant inculcating of the Torah mentality as the key to the whole meaning of Israel's existence. The purpose of the Torah is to make them hope in God and not to forget all He has done for them. The Torah mentality exercised so powerful an influence on Israel's understanding of history that the very unfolding of

historical events was seen as part of God's providential teaching of his people. Torah is a living force to guide the people. It is the gift of God and the expression of the love that has redeemed the people.

The wisdom psalms are particularly marked by a meditative mood, which shows strong affinities with Torah in the concept of blessedness or happiness. They understand the Torah from within, as love of God. All the eight synonyms of Torah indicate that for the wisdom psalms law and love are not opposed but complementary: law without love is dead and love without law is illusion. When God commands he reveals his heart, and the Torah speaks to man's heart. The Torah, the way of life, constitutes an intrinsic element in wisdom. That is why the Torah is said to be the source of wisdom.

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